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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2580th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 10 May 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Birabhongse KASEMSRI (Thailand).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2580)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156).

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [*2577th to 2579th meetings*], I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Guyana, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mexico, Mongolia, Poland, the United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Mr. Albán-Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Dinka (Ethiopia), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala), Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Vongsay (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Nyamdoo (Mongolia), Mr. Nowak (Poland), Mr. Lweno (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Costa Rica, Honduras, Spain and the Syrian Arab Republic, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Berrocal Soto (Costa Rica), Mr. Herrera Cáceres (Honduras), Mr. de Piniés (Spain) and Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, on whom I now call.

4. Mr. MOHAMMED (Trinidad and Tobago): My delegation would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council—all the more as this is the first time in its history that Thailand has had the honour of presiding over the Council. You bring to the presidency considerable personal charm and dignity as well as diplomatic skill and we look forward to a successful month under your presidency. My delegation would like to pay a tribute also to the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, who was President for the month of April. We benefited greatly not only from his diplomatic capacity but also from his professional skills.

5. My delegation would like to express its deep concern over the present situation in Central America. Trinidad and Tobago regrets the recent actions which have increased tensions and aggravated the existing critical situation in the area. These actions not only impede the complex and delicate process of negotiations being carried out at present, but also threaten peace and security of the region.

6. Trinidad and Tobago shares the view that the problems of the countries of the region are rooted in their social and economic conditions, and we believe that these problems should not be drawn into the wider East-West context. We believe that the problems facing Central America can be resolved only through frank and constructive dialogue between the interested parties.

7. Trinidad and Tobago urges the parties involved to make all possible efforts to reduce tensions and to solve the problems of the area through political and diplomatic channels, through the process of negotiations. In this respect my delegation notes the references made by the parties involved in their statements before the Council to their continuing support for the Contadora process as the best means of obtaining a peaceful settlement of the problems of the region. We continue to support fully the efforts of the Contadora Group to achieve a negotiated settlement of the conflict. Trinidad and Tobago also hopes that, in the same vein, the United States of America and Nicaragua will soon resume their bilateral talks, for it is only through frank and constructive dialogue that the differences and concerns of each can be effectively aired and resolved.

8. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

9. Mr. ALBÁN-HOLGUÍN (Colombia) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: You are well aware, Sir, of my delegation's satisfaction at your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We congratulate you and are convinced that, given your talent and experience, you will conduct the proceedings of the Council efficiently and objectively. I should also like to pay a tribute to the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council in April.

10. I wish to extend my thanks to the members of the Council for allowing me to speak this afternoon.

11. In the two statements which he made in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives in April last, the President of Colombia, Belisario Betancur, referring to the Contadora Group, said:

> "The Contadora philosophy and action are based on the need to provide metaphysical, timely and meritorious responses to the subjective and objective forces that are at work in any subversive process. For that reason, the Contadora Act points toward:
>
> "The defense and promotion of democracy in the Central American isthmus through the free pluralist election of representative governments and institutions, eliminating any interference in internal affairs and any destabilizing action against the Governments of the region;
>
> "Providing opponents the scope they need to tackle together the solution of the national and international problems of their countries on the basis of reconciliation;
>
> "Dealing in a dignified manner with the subjective or personal aspects of subversion so that no one need any longer go into exile or under ground, and there will remain only free people in our countries, convinced that in democracy all ideologies can coexist without fear;
>
> "Making subversion impossible by uprooting the objective factors that cause it and providing financial support for social infrastructures such as hospitals, schools, water mains, food production, sewerage systems, employment, cheap credit and fair prices for products;
>
> "Resolving conflicts by peaceful means, through dialogue and the rejection of any form of military intervention, for it is our conviction that a subversive wave would otherwise sweep over all of Latin America and the Caribbean.
>
> "Consequently Central America must be demilitarized, and foreign military advisers must go."

12. My Government believes strongly in these principles. The Contadora Group is an invitation to resolve these problems of common concern to America and all mankind and, further, of fundamental interest to the free civilization of the West.

13. Given these beliefs, my Government has expressed its concern at and deplored the decision of the United States Government to adopt economic measures against Nicaragua. Such action does not foster a policy of dialogue, which is the only way to bring about a lasting settlement of the Central American crisis. Such measures have never produced the effects intended. When taken against such a poor country going through a serious economic crisis, such action can only make the people more radical; they will stand together in the face of hardship and their nationalism will be strengthened. Such action will, moreover, leave only the terrible risk of bitterness in its wake.

14. Colombia and the Contadora Group defend the desire for progress, not poverty; the right to development, not backwardness; the cause of peace, not the cause of war.

15. Good judgement always requires that people get together before fighting, that there be a dialogue before innocent people—women and children—pay an incredible toll in suffering and hunger in the midst of conflicts, when there should be conciliation and negotiations. Intelligence, imagination, persuasiveness, improved living standards—these are the things that will make it possible for mankind to avoid worse evils.

16. The international community has given its unanimous support to the major efforts of the Contadora Group. It is well aware of the origins of the Central American problems and of the difficult course the region is following towards true democracy and the inevitable social and economic reforms.

17. The distinguished banker, William T. Bolin, recalled not long ago that in the past Central America has not lacked prosperity, for in the years following the Second World War it experienced one of the most spectacular successes in economic development, with rates of growth of 5.2 per cent per annum in the 1950s, 7.7 per cent in the 1960s and 7.8 per cent in the 1970s. However, everything changed because of the restrictions of the industrialized countries and the economic crisis, which produced a powerful recession. It has not been possible to begin to come out of that recession, not even when the major Powers began to reactivate their economies. We believe that timely economic assistance can lead the region once again to economic and social development. If the region asks that the hand of friendship be extended, it does not want weapons and military advisers, but elements contributing to education, health, crops and construction.

18. We have said on a number of occasions that the supreme responsibility today is to ensure economic development and that in our war the only enemy is poverty. Everything at this moment in history is subordinated to that. The danger is that the powerful human need for better livings standards will not be understood. It has been said, very aptly, that in economic development there is a tremendous force working for positive aspects, and there is a devastating energy working for negative aspects.

19. The Contadora Group has sought solidarity and co-operation in the great enterprise of reconciliation, peace and development in the Central American area. It has done so in the belief that it is defending the lofty values with which it feels empathy. And now the major Powers, on whose doors the Contadora Group has knocked in search of assistance, must contribute to the development of the backward peoples of the area and offer what is needed: the opportunity to solve their own problems, with due respect for their sovereign rights and their right to self-determination.

20. Colombia is proud to be a State based on law and organized on the basis of very clear political and social principles. We are not indifferent to the urgent need to preserve the international legal order and for that order to be respected by all. If it is disrupted, peace, democracy, freedom, respect for human rights and social justice will be jeopardized.

21. International law, which was initially based on *jus gentium*, originated in the need to defend the weak from arbitrary action and the use of force in international relations. That is why we must express our concern at acts which infringe legal mandates.

22. There are certain basic principles without which the maintenance of international peace and security would be impossible. These include the sovereign equality of all nations, big and small; the self-determination of peoples; the prohibition of intervention in the internal affairs of States; the duty to fulfil in good faith obligations arising from treaties and other sources of law; the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means; and the prohibition of any violation of the integrity or political independence of any State. We would remind the Council that these principles have been included in the Charter of the United Nations and in the charter of the Organization of American States.

23. Colombia has expressed its firm determination to continue the Contadora peace efforts in order to seek Latin American formulations having nothing to do with the East-West conflict, but aimed at strengthening peace, freedom and democracy in Central America.

24. For all these reasons, we sincerely believe that in the present circumstances what is needed is a bold policy that will improve co-operation between and with the countries of Central America. There must be no more hatred, thoughtlessness or threats, which will only promote action by outside forces.

25. Colombia also believes that it is of the utmost importance for the Government of Nicaragua to undertake forthwith a frank and open dialogue with the democratic opposition in its country to bring about national reconciliation. At the same time, we have urged the United States and Nicaragua to resume their talks at an early date, with a view to settling the present dispute.

26. Finally, I should like to congratulate the representative of Peru, who yesterday [*2578th meeting*] presented a visionary interpretation of what is, what can be, what should be, the Latin American continent, which, after the upheavals of its history, must provide a homeland for the millions of people who live there.

27. I also express the gratitude of my Government for the understanding of the members of the European Economic Community of the economic and social problems of Central America, understanding that will certainly lead to vigorous programmes taking the region towards social justice and economic development. At the meeting at San José, Costa Rica, in September 1984 the foreign ministers of the European countries, of the members of the Contadora Group and of Central American countries outlined systems of co-operation that can be perfected at the forthcoming meeting of the same partners. We express our firm and vigorous support for that process of co-operation.

28. Our primary goal is peace, the kind of peace that is not only the absence of war, but the full application of social and economic justice throughout the world.

29. Colombia reaffirms its faith in dialogue and its determination to co-operate in the search for a broad,

lasting political solution to the conflicts of the troubled Central American region.

30. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Zimbabwe, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

31. Mr. MUDENGE (Zimbabwe): I wish, Mr. President, to join the many others who have already spoken in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. My delegation is confident that in your experienced hands the business of the Council will prosper during this month.

32. The imposition of sanctions on the small nation of Nicaragua by a super-Power, and a permanent member of this body, is a matter of great concern to the international community. The imposition of sanctions is a grave step which the Charter has reserved for use in certain well-defined circumstances that threaten international peace and security. It is a measure to be invoked when peaceful methods of resolving a problem have been exhausted. It should not be a weapon used in order to bully small, poor nations.

33. It is difficult to fathom how a small struggling nation of 3 million people like Nicaragua can constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the richest and most powerful nation on Earth—the United States.

34. Nicaragua has demonstrated its bona fides in countless ways: it has accepted fully the proposals of the Contadora Group; it stands ready to follow the peace process initiated at Manzanillo; and it has subjected itself to international scrutiny by placing the dispute before the International Court of Justice. And yet the response from the other side has been a naval blockade, an economic blockade and menacing military manoeuvres close to its borders, as well as the fomenting, financing, training and arming of bandits against it.

35. It is sad to watch a small nation being punished for daring to be free, free to choose its own socio-political system. We are told that Nicaragua intends to become a Soviet satellite, that it intends to build a big army, that it intends to destabilize its neighbours. Therefore, in order to nip in the bud those imagined future intentions, naval and economic embargoes and other aggressive measures have to be taken against it. This comes from a Power which has consistently and energetically opposed the imposition of sanctions against the evil régime in South Africa, which régime is not at the stage of intending to do or not to do this or that, but is actually implementing its wicked policies.

36. Thanks in part to technology, such as IBM computers and weaponry, delivered to South Africa by that same super-Power and its principal allies, South Africa has the power to destabilize its neighbours. It has occupied Nambia for 15 years, in defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions. It practises an evil doctrine of racial bigotry called *apartheid*, which the international community has declared to be a crime against humanity. It has constitutionally disfranchised and denationalized nearly 80 per cent of its population. It is ruled by a small clique of racist bigots, some of whose leaders were interned during the Second World War for espousing fascist doctrines of racial purity that led to the despicable holocaust of the Hitlerite era. It is a country that has occupied over a third of the territory of Angola for a long time and has recruited, trained, financed and armed gangs of bandits in order to destabilize its neighbours of Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This litany of iniquities is a matter of public record. I catalogue the outrages only in order to highlight the sharp contradictions evident in the way that the super-Power concerned has reacted to the two situations.

37. In the case of South Africa there has been no mention of the need to impose sanctions. Indeed, the Power in question has repeatedly vetoed Security Council draft resolutions on sanctions against *apartheid* South Africa. While the Pretoria régime daily massacres its citizens, the United States speaks of "constructive engagement" and attempts to persuade us that dialogue, where South Africa is concerned, is more effective than coercive measures.

38. We cannot but ask why there is this contradiction in the policies pursued by that Power. It would seem to us that in its wish to discriminate against States pursuing a certain social and political system it is prepared to violate international law. If, as we believe, this is so, we find this discrimination to be in violation of the provisions of the Charter and of General Assembly resolutions which call for peaceful coexistence between States with differing social and political systems.

39. Specifically, we find this action to be in violation of article 19 of the charter of the Organization of American States, which unequivocally states that

> "No State may use or encourage the use of coercive measures of an economic or political character in order to force the sovereign will of another State and obtain from it advantages of any kind."

40. We find the same actions also to be inimical to General Assembly resolution 39/210 of 18 December 1984, which, *inter alia*, calls on the developed countries to

> "refrain from threatening or applying trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes and other economic sanctions, incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and in violation of undertakings contracted multilaterally or bilaterally, against developing countries as a form of political and economic coercion which affects their economic, political and social development".

41. What we have here is an attempt to terrify—nay, to terrorize, for this is nothing short of economic terrorism—a small Central American State into abandoning its chosen social and political system.

42. It must be stated that, in fact, Nicaragua is allowed by the Charter to exist in the Western hemisphere with the social and political system of its choice. Its system has not been condemned by the generality of mankind, as has that of South Africa. It is in that sense that, while coercive measures are acceptable *vis-à-vis* the evil system of *apartheid* in South Africa, they cannot be so against Nicaragua. With this fact in mind we can say that Nicaragua should be protected from embargoes by the various General Assembly resolutions on the need for States not to resort to coercive economic measures.

43. It is our view that the imposition of an embargo on Nicaragua does not augur well for the prospects for peace in Central America. It is a blunt instrument, callously employed, and it solves nothing. All it does is aggravate tension in Central America and thereby vitiate the efforts of the Contadora Group. In this sense we find the move particularly unhelpful in that it all but rules out bilateral talks between the super-Power concerned and Nicaragua, which talks we had hoped would inject momentum into the Contadora efforts to seek a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

44. Neither are we convinced of the legality, and therefore the acceptability, of this act. It violates the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States that was adopted by General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX) in 1974; it violates the Charter of the United Nations; and it violates the charter of the Organization of American States, an organization of which both parties to the dispute are members.

45. We are perturbed at the contemptuous rejection by the super-Power concerned of repeated proposals for peaceful settlement of the crisis in Central America that have emanated not only from Managua but also from the Contadora Group and from various capitals in Central America and the rest of Latin America. How should we read this disdainful casting aside of all these attempts at a peaceful resolution of the conflict? Is it just a lack of respect for international law and the norms of international conduct? Is it the scorn of a super-Power for the concerns of a small, struggling third-world country? Or is it just the arrogance or pugnacity of the powerful when confronted with the determination of the weak?

46. We have heard the super-Power in question declare that it too favours a peaceful resolution of the conflict, but at what price to the Nicaraguans? It is the terms on which such a peaceful settlement can be achieved that worries us. To demand that Nicaragua should say "uncle" to the super-Power is the height of arrogance. "Uncle Tomism" is not an accepted concept in international relations; it is obnoxious to the principles of the Charter, which emphasize the equality of sovereign States.

47. Therefore, the issue before the Council today is truly one of global concern. At stake here today is not the fate of Nicaragua alone, but that of all those small, militarily weak nations of which my own is one. It is in view of this that my country has chosen to participate in this debate today, in order to assert again the right of all States, big and small, rich and poor, to live in peace with all their neighbours under their own chosen social and political system, without interference from any quarter.

48. For us, there is no alternative to reason in our conduct of international relations. Since reason is our most powerful weapon, we are disturbed if we see it cast aside in dealings between States, any States. A world where rules and established norms of conduct and morality are not respected is a very dangerous one for all of us. We do not see morality, or indeed legality, in the application of coercive measures against a legitimate Government trying to protect its sovereignty. We do not see merit in actions designed to block all avenues of peaceful resolution of conflicts. We do not believe in a policy of diktat in dealings between Governments.

49. As a party to the Charter of the United Nations and the charters of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity, we are frustrated when some of the most important provisions of those documents are disregarded. It is our belief that major Powers should set an example of respect for law and order rather than being the first to flout them. A safe world is a world which is safe for everyone.

50. We still hope that the action that has triggered this meeting of the Security Council can be rescinded. We believe very strongly in the need for peaceful settlement of disputes and in the inadmissibility of coercive measures, whether political, economic or military, in dealings between the weak and the strong nations.It is our belief that the only lasting solution to the Central American crisis is a political one. We therefore hope that all the parties to the dispute will keep this in mind, and confine their efforts to peaceful negotiations. It would be very regrettable if considerations of national pride were allowed to stand in the way of such a civilized course.

51. For our part, we shall do our best to encourage those concerned who favour a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

52. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

53. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): I should like first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May.

Your diplomatic skill and experience will, I am sure, greatly contribute to the successful work of this important body. I avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, for the successful and inspiring guidance of the Council during the month of April.

54. It is the political and economic inequality and social injustice expressed in exploitation and the inherent love of freedom that inspire peoples and countries to engage in a struggle for self-determination and for national, political and cultural equality and independence. Wherever there are attempts to preserve the obsolete relationship of domination, those attempts are being resisted in different ways but with ever stronger resolve.

55. While this resolve is motivated by an urge to be free and independent, in some quarters it is being perceived as an issue of the relationship between two military-political blocs; in effect it is perceived as an East-West issue. This not only blurs the issue and confuses the causes and consequences but is also directly detrimental to the cause of independence, peace and security. Moreover, this perception serves as a backdrop for interventions, overt and covert, armed and political, and for unilateral sanctions and coercive measures of a political and economic nature, including economic blockade or trade embargo. All those measures are outside and well beyond the limit of acceptability in international relations today.

56. There is no need for tragic mistakes to be repeated. The use of force or of economic, political or military pressure has never resolved questions brought about by the lack of economic and social development.

57. Economic coercive measures are not only unacceptable from the point of view of international relations as such; they are, in the present international economic crisis and in times when developing countries are languishing under the debt burden, an additional, strong element of insecurity and disorder affecting international economic relations at large.

58. We detect all those elements in the present situation in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua. The right of any and all States Members of the United Nations, including Nicaragua, to self-determination and independence should not be questioned or threatened. The right to self-determination is the paramount and sacrosanct rule of international life and one of the basic principles of the Charter; it cannot be negotiated.

59. However, all outstanding issues could and should be settled politically, in a peaceful way, through negotiation and dialogue. The Charter and the principles of the policy of non-alignment are the best framework for any political settlement, but it should be recalled that they exclude any use of force and any form of pressure, political or economic.

60. The non-aligned countries, abiding by the principles of the policy of non-alignment, have always been the firmest supporters of independence for all peoples—including the Nicaraguan people. They reconfirmed this at the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held on 7 May of this year. We of Yugoslavia and the non-aligned countries in general are convinced supporters of the Contadora Group. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela have elaborated in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*S/16775, annex*] the principles on which peace and co-operation in that area should rest. Among the principles they have outlined are: the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States; the peaceful settlement of disputes; non-interference; co-operation between States; equal rights and sef-determination of peoples and the promotion of respect for human rights; sovereign equality; refraining from disciplinary practices in economic relations between States by respecting their systems of political, economic and social organization; and the fulfilment in good faith of obligations assumed under international law. We feel that the international community should encourage the Contadora Group to continue its peace efforts.

61. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming meeting between the Contadora countries and the representatives of the Governments of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, to be held in Panama in mid-May, will contribute to the search for a peaceful solution of the issues of Central America and to the adoption and speedy implementation of the Contadora Act.

62. Finally, the Charter of the United Nations says that parties to a dispute should seek solution by negotiation. We wish that the interrupted dialogue between Nicaragua and the United States of America would be renewed, since political and negotiated solutions hold the longest.

63. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

64. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) *(interpretation from French)*: The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic would like to join previous speakers and congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of May. We are convinced that under your skilful guidance the Council will be able to take the necessary steps to put an end to the series of acts of aggression to which the Republic of Nicaragua has been subjected by a permanent member of the Security Council and, consequently, give its support to the victim of this aggression. I should like to pay a particular tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, for the exemplary way in which he conducted the Council's work during the past

month. My delegation would also like to thank the Council for having permitted us to participate in the debate on the item now before it.

65. My delegation listened with close attention to the statement made last Wednesday in the Council [*2577th meeting*] by Mr. Javier Chamorro Mora, the representative of the Republic of Nicaragua, concerning the escalating aggression to which his Government and people have been subjected by the Administration of President Reagan. It is a matter of public record that the draconian measures taken recently by the occupant of the White House—namely, the total economic and trade embargo against Nicaragua and the suspension of the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation signed in January 1956 between the two countries—constitute a declaration of a brutal and immoral economic war of aggression by an imperialist super-Power against a small, independent, sovereign, peace-loving and non-aligned country.

66. This new act of provocation should not particularly puzzle or surprise us, because the whole world knows that the United States Government, from the first days of the glorious victory of the Sandinist revolution in July 1979, has sworn to move heaven and earth to stifle and topple the revolutionary Government of that country, which is not in its pay as was the dictatorial Somoza band. This is the substance of the problem which must always be borne in mind if we wish to understand the political, economic and social crisis which seems to be an endemic feature of Central America, particularly since Washington has never concealed its sinister intentions with regard to revolutionary Nicaragua.

67. A series of acts of provocation, intervention and military aggression taking the form of economic blockade, political assassination, kidnapping, massacres of the defenceless civilian population, economic sabotage, large-scale military manoeuvres of long duration and the mining of ports, all carried out by the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) directly and through the Somozist counter-revolutionary bands which have found asylum in countries neighbouring on Nicaragua, has prompted the Sandinist Government to complain many times to the Security Council. This policy of intervention and aggression conducted by the United States Government in that part of the world obviously represents a serious threat to peace and security in the region and internationally. It was precisely to control the situation and to find a negotiated political solution to the crisis that is shaking Central America that the General Assembly adopted by consensus resolutions 38/10 and 39/4. Thus the peace initiatives emanating from the Contadora Group and from the Nicaraguan Government were welcomed and vigorously supported by the entire international community.

68. It should be emphasized, furthermore, that in their just and legitimate struggle to preserve their revolutionary achievements the Government and the heroic people of Nicaragua have always enjoyed the firm support of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, whose Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government called for an end to all hostile acts against that country.

69. The Lao delegation, like others, believes that the comprehensive economic and trade embargo and the other connected hostile measures recently decreed by the occupant of the White House against Nicaragua are tainted with illegality, contrary to the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States and ride roughshod over the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council. These hostile, reprehensible acts also violate the fundamental principles in the relevant declarations of the General Assembly, in particular those concerning non-interference in the internal and external affairs of other States and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

70. Finally, this political, economic and military vendetta—to use an expression that was recently employed by the leaders of a European Labour party—has struck a mortal blow at peace initiatives and efforts of the Contadora Group, for which the United States Administration has proclaimed its support—in words, at least.

71. Honest people of good faith recognize that the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua has always shown good will and flexibility both in applying the principles and fulfilling the commitments contained in the Contadora Act and in its position in the different series of bilateral talks held at Manzanillo since the summer of 1984 between the representatives of the United States and of Nicaragua. We know also that it is the American side which in January this year unilaterally broke off those talks, although their usefulness had been recognized by both sides from the outset. The United States Government has now arrogantly demanded that revolutionary Nicaragua enter into direct negotiations with the criminal counter-revolutionary band, the henchmen of the CIA. Quite obviously the Sandinist Government has categorically rejected this diktat, this ultimatum, the effect of which would be to compel revolutionary Nicaragua to give up the inalienable and fundamental national right to independence, sovereignty and freedom which it regained through a bitter struggle. This just and legitimate position was spelt out clearly in the statement made here last Wednesday by the representative of Nicaragua.

72. The United States President, to justify his reprehensible action, has alleged that Nicaragua, a small, poor country, represents an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of that imperialist colossus. The opposite is indeed the case. That puerile and specious argument could convince only a person bereft of sense, blind and sick.

73. It is not surprising, therefore, that this inhuman measure has provoked a wave of protest throughout the

world and even among the informed American public. It is truly regrettable that the United States Government stubbornly refuses to learn the lessons of the past. A recent public opinion poll in the United States indicated that the vast majority of Americans oppose the adventurist, interventionist policy of their Government in Central America and elsewhere in the world precisely because they were traumatized by the horrors and nightmare of the American war of aggression against the three Indo-Chinese countries, from which the United States emerged the sorry loser.

74. The three peoples of Indo-China have serious reasons to redouble their vigilance because imperialist forces, in collusion with expansionist and hegemonist forces, continue their attempts at political, economic and military destabilization of the socialist régimes which have been set up in those countries. They use, as the United States Government did in the case of Nicaragua, criminal bands of counter-revolutionaries, fed, armed and trained in camps set up on the soil of certain neighbouring countries, as instruments of various kinds of sabotage and destabilization against Laos, as against Viet Nam and Kampuchea.

75. In the case of Laos, the international community is following with concern and sympathy the acts of aggression and territorial occupation against that small, peace-loving country by the extreme-right regional forces. This interventionist policy on the part of imperialist and expansionist forces quite clearly strikes a blow at the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the three countries of Indo-China. It also represents a grave threat to peace and stability in that part of the world.

76. To return to Nicaragua, my delegation, while denouncing and condemning the escalation of aggression to which that country is now being subjected by the United States Administration, associates itself completely with the spirit and the letter of the communiqué adopted on Tuesday at the special meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries [*S/17163, annex*]. That communiqué called for an end to the hostile acts and declared that a negotiated political solution should be sought in the context of the peace efforts of the Contadora Group and the bilateral talks in Manzanillo, which were unilaterally broken off by the United States at the beginning of this year. The resumption of such talks is therefore highly desirable. The Lao delegation believes that the Security Council, which under the Charter bears the primary responsibility for preserving peace and regional and international security, should take the necessary steps to put an end to the aggression of which Nicaragua is victim and to contribute to the search for a mutually acceptable negotiated political solution on the basis of mutual respect and respect for the right to self-determination. The Lao Government and people wish to reaffirm here their unswerving support for the just cause of the Government and the heroic people of Nicaragua.

77. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ecuador. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

78. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Mr. President, I thank you and the members of the Security Council for allowing me to participate in this debate, under Article 31 of the Charter, on a subject of special interest for the entire Latin American region. I congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the present month, which will surely be enhanced by your personal prestige, skill and experience and by the age-old independence of your country. We also pay a tribute to the outstanding performance of the President of the Council last month, Mr. Javier Arias Stella.

79. Ecuador has come before the Council to repeat what it has said on past occasions regarding its strict observance of the principles of the self-determination of peoples and non-intervention in any form whatsoever. Those principles are the corner-stone of the international system of law and of peaceful coexistence among countries and could guide us in the search for solutions to the present problem, the grave situation in the Central American region, as described by the representative of the sister republic of Nicaragua.

80. That is why Ecuador reaffirms its constant support for the action of the countries of the Contadora Group as one possible mechanism that should intensify its efforts to find ways to put an end to the problems affecting the Central American region. A united position by the five countries of that region and acts of dialogue and negotiation are both desirable and necessary for that to be achieved. It is also desirable to try to avoid at all costs the transfer of East-West tensions to the new world. This action should lead, we hope, to a peaceful settlement of disputes, which is the primary goal of the Security Council in performing its lofty functions.

81. The delegation of Ecuador expresses the hope that measures adopted in the Council, in the Contadora Group or any action taken by member countries will be aimed at reducing tension and restoring a climate of understanding and dialogue and promoting the democratic way of life that should characterize the countries of our region and of the whole world.

82. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Dominican Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

83. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Mr. President, first of all I wish to express to you my delegation's great pleasure and my own at seeing you conducting our proceedings. Your presence at the head of the Security Council clearly guarantees that our work will proceed efficiently and fairly. I also wish to take this opportu-

nity to congratulate Mr. Arias Stella of Peru on his splendid work as President of the Council last month. Finally, and through you, I thank the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to take part in this debate.

84. Because of the recent events that are having a direct influence on the situation in Central America, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic has made known, in a press communiqué, the position of principle of the Dominican Government regarding the crisis affecting the Central American region. That communiqué once again reiterates the Dominican Government's unshakeable devotion to peace, its constant support for the norms and principles of international law and above all its firm conviction that only through a democratic and pluralist régime can there be created the conditions needed to attain social justice and general well-being for our peoples.

85. The communiqué reads as follows:

"The Dominican Government views with great concern the obvious intensification of the Central American conflict, in particular the circumstances that culminated recently in the embargo decreed by the United States of America on its trade relations with Nicaragua. These events reflect an ominous stage of confrontation that could give rise to a generalized outbreak of war, which should be avoided at all costs.

"The Dominican Government considers it appropriate to reiterate its abiding view that only a negotiated peace, in keeping with the means and principles of international law, particularly those enshrined in the inter-American system and the Charter of the United Nations, can guarantee a genuine and effective solution to this serious conflict. It reaffirms its conviction that the peace efforts undertaken by the Contadora Group, which have always been supported by the Dominican Republic, are the best way to achieve both peace and social justice and the strengthening of democratic institutions called for by the brother peoples of Central America.

"Thus the Dominican Government believes that in order to achieve a speedy solution to the Central American conflict, strictest respect for the principles of non-intervention and the self-determination of peoples is required, as stressed in the Document of Objectives adopted within the framework of the Contadora negotiations. Therefore any outside intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America must be eliminated.

"Finally, the Government of the Dominican Republic urges all the parties involved in the Central American conflict to exert urgent efforts to create a climate propitious to the effective resumption of constructive dialogue. In particular, it calls on the Central American countries to pursue unswervingly the path of their negotiations within the Contadora context. These negotiations not only have shown the viability of the agreements that are sought, but also are broadly supported by the majority of the peoples and Governments of the international community."

86. Thus, just as we are convinced that dialogue is indispensable to the relaxation of tension and to peace in Central America, so do we believe that it is necessary at the same time to undertake another great political dialogue to study in depth, in regard not only to the Central American region but globally, the underlying causes of the unjust economic, financial, political and social structures that are precisely the factors that create and foster those tensions and social upheavals.

87. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Guyana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

88. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): I wish, at the outset, Mr. President, to state how gratified my delegation is to see your consummate diplomatic skills and your urbanity at the service of the Security Council in this month of May. These skills, along with your good judgement and your knowledge of the work of the Organization and familiarity with the issues facing the Council have earned you the high esteem of your colleagues at the United Nations. They make us feel confident that the Council's business will be efficiently discharged this month. Permit me also to express to your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, my delegation's sincere appreciation for the capable, dignified and effective manner in which he discharged the duties of the presidency in the month of April.

89. I must also thank the membership of the Council for agreeing to Guyana's request to participate in this debate. We have sought this participation not to enter into polemics nor to engage in slander or recrimination. Rather, we wish to add our voice to the Council's consideration of Nicaragua's complaint because, among other things, Guyana is a member State of the Latin American and Caribbean region, and we are more than a little concerned about the dangerous course of events in Central America, particularly with respect to Nicaragua. We see a trend which, if pursued, would lead to greater rather than less tension and instability in Central America, with consequences for the entire Latin American and Caribbean region.

90. Also, Guyana is a small State which, like so many other small States, places faith in respect by large States for the principles which the Organization has evolved over the years for the peaceful and orderly conduct of inter-State relations. When we see those principles being set aside, we feel a duty to join those urging a recall to them.

91. My delegation listened very carefully to the statement made in this Chamber two days ago by the representative of Nicaragua [*2577th meeting*]; we lis-

tened with similar care and attention to the statement made by the representative of the United States [*2578th meeting*].

92. Nicaragua first brought a complaint to the Council in April 1982, and each subsequent complaint has provided the Council with an opportunity to assess a progressively deteriorating situation in Central America, particularly with regard to that country.

93. It is clear from the statement made by Mr. Chamorro Mora that the Nicaraguan people have a profound fear for their security, a fear produced by a number of factors which are easily identifiable and whose existence is independently attested. What Nicaragua faces is more than simply a threat of aggression. Its ports have been mined, its villages and towns have been attacked, its infrastructure has been seriously damaged and thousands of its people have been killed or maimed. Most recently, Nicaragua has become the victim of a trade embargo and other economic measures of a coercive nature. Coming after the General Assembly has called upon Governments to continue contributing to Nicaragua's processes of internal reconstruction and development, and also at a time when Nicaragua is already suffering the adverse effects of an imposed war, this trade embargo seriously aggravates the country's problems.

94. When in 1982 Nicaragua brought its complaint to the Council, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, then United States representative, said that the United States was not in the business of overthrowing Governments. Those were reassuring words, but a number of subsequent actions and statements, some quite unambiguous, have been causing concern. In this light, therefore, it is easy to understand and to feel the fear which today haunts the Nicaraguan people.

95. These actions and statements are directly contrary to and in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the principles of international law. Respect for the Charter and for these principles is our only guarantee of peaceful and stable inter-State relations. When these principles are set aside or abandoned, peace and stability are endangered. Is this not the lesson of Central America?

96. Events in Central America have given further confirmation of the wisdom and the correctness of the decision taken by the General Assembly in 1970, when by resolution 2625 (XXV) it adopted the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. That Declaration was followed, 11 years later, by the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, which set out for the first time, in clear and detailed language, the duties comprehended in the principle of non-intervention and non-interference. These duties include:

"The duty of States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any form whatsoever to violate the existing internationally recognized boundaries of another State, to disrupt the political, social or economic order of other States, to overthrow or change the political system of another State or its Government, to cause tension between or among States or to deprive peoples of their national identity and cultural heritage; ...

"The duty of a State to refrain from armed intervention, subversion, military occupation or any other form of intervention and interference, overt or covert, directed at another State or group of States, or any act of military, political or economic interference in the internal affairs of another State, including acts of reprisal involving the use of force; ...

"The duty of a State to refrain from any action or attempt in whatever form or under whatever pretext to destabilize or to undermine the stability of another State or of any of its institutions" [*See General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex*].

97. This Declaration, the fruit of years of effort in the General Assembly by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, represents a great contribution by our Movement and by the General Assembly to the effort to establish a régime of peaceful relations between States cemented by the positive bonds of mutual respect and respect for the rule of law. I venture to assert that there is no future for international relations unless they are constructed on these bases.

98. The international community long ago outlawed the use of force as a means of settling disputes. This applies, of course, to whatever differences or quarrels may exist between Nicaragua and any other State or States. Such disputes must be settled by exclusively peaceful means, with full respect for the right of the people of Nicaragua to choose their own forms of political, economic and social organization and for their right to live in peace, free from outside interference, pressure or coercion. This right was reaffirmed by the Council in its resolution 530 (1983).

99. My delegation sincerely regrets the interruption of the Manzanillo talks between the United States and Nicaragua. That forum provided for those two States an opportunity for a frank and constructive discussion of their differences in order to establish a basis for normalizing relations between them. In the absence of dialogue it is easy for misunderstandings to take root, for differences to multiply and for tensions to escalate. My delegation has taken note of Nicaragua's continuing commitment to Manzanillo, and we express the hope that this channel of communication will soon be reopened.

100. My delegation cannot help remarking that so far those who accuse Nicaragua most audibly and frequently of intimidation, destabilization and subversion

of its neighbours have not been the neighbours of Nicaragua themselves. In fact, Nicaragua has given its full and unconditional support to the Contadora process, which represents an effort by the States of the region to achieve a régime of peace and security among Central American countries based on respect for the principles of non-intervention and non-interference, self-determination and non-use of force or the threat of use of force in international relations. Nicaragua has made a practical demonstration of its commitment to the objectives of Contadora by announcing on 21 September 1984 its decision immediately to sign the Contadora Act without reservations. In so doing it has signalled its intention voluntarily to submit itself to the constraints and limitations imposed by the Contadora Act on Central American States in the larger interest of peace in the subregion.

101. Contadora represents an assertion by the States of the region of their determination and their capacity through dialogue and practical co-operation to seek and find solutions to problems existing within the region. The solutions proposed by the Contadora States have full legitimacy: they emerge from within the region itself, and they correspond to the interests and the needs of the people as determined by them. If they are allowed to work, they will work. The Contadora process enjoys significant international support. Guyana reiterates its support for that process and expresses the hope that the revised Act will very soon be formalized. We call on States to give, beyond rhetorical support, practical support for that effort. States must refrain from actions which contradict the goals and purposes of Contadora or frustrate their achievement.

102. Central America is in a process of internal change, a process that is evolving against a backdrop of particular economic and social factors. The struggles of the peoples of that subregion are for an improvement in the quality of their life and for fuller participation in the political process. Theirs are not struggles to secure the strategic advantage of any outside Power or to prove or disprove the superiority or validity of any ideological world view. It is unhelpful, therefore, to misrepresent the domestic impulses for change in the subregion and to try to cast them into a mould in which they do not belong.

103. It is to be expected that different States of the subregion will choose different developmental paths and political strategies based on their respective historical experiences, on their own perceptions of what transformations in their societies are necessary and how these can best be effected. The true test of a commitment to democracy in international relations is surely the ability to tolerate differences and to eschew insistence on ideological conformity.

104. Intolerance combined with misperceptions or misrepresentations of the nature and significance of change in Central America has led to the excesses so eloquently and condignly deplored in this forum and to much of the suffering which the people of Nicaragua continue to endure. There must be, and there is, an alternative to these policies.

105. The problems of Central America are not susceptible to military solutions, nor can solutions be imposed from outside. This has been repeated *ad nauseam* in this forum. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Council will make an effective and worthy response to the serious situation which Nicaragua has brought to its attention. We also express the hope that this debate will exert strong pressure for the abandonment of policies of force, of confrontation and of war in favour of peaceful negotiated solutions. It is time that peace were given a chance in Central America.

106. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Guatemala. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

107. Mr. FAJARDO-MALDONADO (Guatemala) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: On behalf of my delegation I should like to express our pleasure and congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. We are convinced that because of your ability and personal qualities the work of the Security Council will be fruitful. At the same time we should like to express our appreciation to the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for the shrewd and effective manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month. I would also thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for giving my delegation this opportunity to make a statement in this important body of the United Nations.

108. Guatemala is on this occasion speaking in the Security Council as a Central American country profoundly concerned over the crisis affecting our region, a crisis that has over the past few days been aggravated by the political and economic measures taken against one of the countries of the Central American isthmus. These measures jeopardize the negotiations taking place within the Contadora Group. Having followed this debate with interest and great care, I should like, in order to contribute to the delicate deliberations proceeding within the Council, to reaffirm the position of the Government of Guatemala regarding the crisis affecting the region.

109. Central America is confronting a crisis of profound economic, political and social dimensions. Since the early 1980s, the region has been passing through a serious economic depression and the most serious political upheaval of the last 50 years. That has led to a climate of instability and confusion, which only makes it more difficult to solve the present crisis. The region has been severely castigated by alien and internal factors and by adverse forces originating in the international economy, related to trade in products, and external financial co-operation, which has been aggravated by the exaggerated insistence by certain international financial institutions of a bilateral and multilateral

character that our countries absorb a disproportionate burden of the adjustment to the new circumstances.

110. A recent study by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) found that the political and economic problems confronting the Central American countries have delayed, by at least 20 years, certain achievements in the normal functioning of the economic integration process through their common market. According to ECLAC, it is necessary to break preconceived leftist and rightist moulds, combining a greater role for the State, together with full support and incentives for the private sector, with the adoption of pragmatic and selective measures to deal with regional demand through a joint, shared approach to development.

111. This situation is recognized and described in broad terms in the report of the Bipartite National Commission for Central America, presided over by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. That report recommended the adoption of key measures to overcome these problems.

112. I have given the Council this brief economic account because my Government believes that these are the profound causes that have brought about the present situation in Central America, making our region particularly vulnerable, making it possible for new actors from outside to try to exert their influence in the area.

113. All this is also related to internal factors heightening political and social tensions in certain countries. These factors are the result of the interaction of complex phenomena which have had diverse ramifications in our economies and societies.

114. Our region is extremely vulnerable to outside influences; it needs co-operation from the international community as it endeavours to overcome the dual crisis. Such co-operation must support the efforts that Central Americans themselves are making to preserve and strengthen their common bonds and to lessen the factors which separate them. For this reason we attach special importance to the meeting that was held towards the end of September 1984 among the five foreign ministers of Central America, the foreign ministers of the Contadora Group, and the foreign ministers of the members of the European Economic Community, Spain and Portugal.

115. The foreign policy of Guatemala has been consistent with the trying times in which we are living and with the Central American identity that we share with the other countries of the region. We maintain a balanced position, which is reflected in our stability in the present circumstances. We believe that support for regional integration and the preservation of past achievements remains one of the primary objectives of our foreign policy in Central America, as is respect for multilateral and bilateral conventions on free trade and Central American integration that are in force among the fraternal countries of the region. Support for efforts to bring about regional unity will make a notable contribution to peace and development. To underestimate these integrating efforts could undeniably contribute to a widening of existing differences, leading to conflicts with unpredictable results. The more we strengthen inter-regional co-operation, the more propitious the political atmosphere will be for shared and negotiated solutions.

116. Another fundamental pillar of our foreign policy in Central America is our unconditional, continuing support for the Contadora Group. We participated from the very outset in that important diplomatic Latin American peace effort.

117. We reaffirm our conviction that the Central American crisis requires political and diplomatic solutions based on compromise formulas which reconcile the different positions and take into account the basic principles of international law. There is no single easy solution to Central America's problems, but a realistic and effective approach can be taken through a comprehensive agreement.

118. We believe that in the relatively near future the present tense situation, which might expand, can be controlled to some extent. In this context it is pertinent to stress that the Document of Objectives [*S/16041, annex*], adopted by consensus by the five Contadora Governments, clearly defines the political, security, economic and social goals to be achieved if we are to ensure permanent peace in the region.

119. Guatemala considers it very important to achieve genuine internal reconciliation in every Central American country; it is essential that the democratic system be strengthened. Political pluralism must be guaranteed and fundamental human rights must be respected.

120. The more each and every one of us, the Central American countries, appreciates the overriding need to halt the arms race, the greater the chances of a relaxation of tension and of peace. Against the backdrop of the present international economic crisis, it is absurd for Central America's scanty economic resources to be drained by the purchase of sophisticated military equipment.

121. My country respects and adheres to the purposes and principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States, in particular the maintenance of international peace and security, respect for the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the non-use or threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the self-determination of peoples, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the right of free navigation and trade in international waters. We

adhere to Security Council resolution 530 (1983); to General Assembly resolutions 38/10 and 39/4 on Central America; to General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; and to the resolutions adopted within the framework of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development on economic co-operation among developing countries and those which promote free international trade.

122. In conclusion, we reaffirm our unconditional support for the peace efforts made by the Contadora Group. We shall continue to co-operate in any peace initiative undertaken in the region to bring about a just and honourable settlement in Central America making possible a comprehensive solution to all the problems and differences. In order to act in conformity with General Assembly resolutions and the unanimous support of the international community for Latin America's peace efforts, the Security Council should today, more than ever, reaffirm that support in order to create a more favourable negotiating climate, enabling progress to be made in the difficult and delicate negotiations in the Contadora Group.

123. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

124. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): I am grateful to the members of the Security Council for giving me the opportunity to explain my country's position with regard to the problem under consideration.

125. Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. My delegation is confident that you will apply your great political experience and diplomatic skill in successfully guiding the work of the Council in the interest of strengthening peace and international security. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the thanks of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic to the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, for his successful activities as President of the Council in the month of April.

126. Permit me to begin my statement with a quotation from a former President of Venezuela, Carlos Andrés Pérez, now a member of the Senate of his country, who said in an article published recently:

> "For Latin Americans, at least, the lessons of Viet Nam are crystal-clear—that the United States is strongest when it acts for social justice and democratic change, that it is most effective when it acts multilaterally, and most successful when it deals with its neighbours as equals dedicated to peace, freedom and democracy. We only wish the United States could see this as clearly as we do."

Those sentences were written on the basis of the experience gained by a leading Latin American politician of United States policy towards his region in the past and at present. They express the hope of many politicians and peoples of Latin and Central America to be treated by the United States as equal partners, masters of their own destiny, who are not told by the Government of that country how to organize their societies.

127. The reply to that appeal was the further intensification of the policy of aggression against, and interference in, Central America, with the announcement of an embargo against Nicaragua by the Government of the United States.

128. Already, in connection with the brutal mining of Nicaraguan ports, an overwhelming majority of representatives here in the Security Council have called for the termination of aggressive acts against Nicaragua and for a political solution to the problems of the region, urging continuation of the peace efforts then under way. At that time, in April 1984, only one permanent member voted against a draft resolution [*S/16463*] reaffirming the right of Nicaragua and of all the countries of the region to live in peace and security, free from all foreign interference; calling for an immediate end to the mining of Nicaraguan ports, which had caused the loss of human lives as well as material damage; condemning the hampering of free navigation and commerce; and affirming the right of free navigation and commerce. Today leading circles in the United States are again trying to undermine the demands of the international community, renewed in this debate. They are trying to blackmail sovereign Nicaragua by an economic blockade and to make Nicaragua bend to their will and ambition for hegemony in the region.

129. Like the overwhelming majority of other States, the German Democratic Republic rejects those machinations and calls for an immediate end to those measures in the interest of a peaceful solution to the problems in Central America, an improvement of the international climate and the free development of international trade.

130. In particular, those who call so loudly for the liquidation of trade restrictions should underline their declarations by relevant deeds.

131. As the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, and representatives of other States have convincingly proved in this debate, the latest acts against Nicaragua have to be seen against the background of the general policy, continuing over years and worsening in that time, intended to overthrow the legitimately elected Government of a free, independent country. The world must be vigilant and reject the escalation of the military, political and economic undermining of sovereign Nicaragua; it must contribute to bringing back to their senses those who regard the activities carried out so far as only a prelude to more dangerous adventures.

132. Such an approach to the problems of Central America holds serious dangers to peace. The German Democratic Republic resolutely condemns any form of armed aggression and the exertion of political pressure against Nicaragua, as well as threats against Cuba and growing attacks on more Central American countries. The latest total trade and economic blockade imposed by the United States against Nicaragua is an expression of the continued policy of threat and extortion, and is a gross violation of all the fundamental principles of international law. Thus, those forces are acting contrary to the will of the majority of Member States, which at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly called for an end to blockades and economic embargoes against developing countries.

133. The embargo is another link in the chain of measures aimed at overthrowing the legitimately elected President and Government of a sovereign State. But, typically, United States politicians prevent the imposition of effective sanctions against the fascist *apartheid* régime in South Africa, as demanded by an overwhelming majority of States.

134. The German Democratic Republic demands the immediate and complete cessation of interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America and the Caribbean and of the aggressive actions against Nicaragua. In the interest of a just political settlement in Central America, the Security Council should contribute to mobilizing international efforts.

135. We support the demand of the non-aligned countries for a peaceful solution to the problems of the region, as contained in the communiqué adopted by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on 7 May 1985 [*S/17163, annex*].

136. The head of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, declared on the occasion of the recent visit of the President of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, to my country that we commended the devoted struggle of the Nicaraguan people for their country's national and democratic reconstruction, a struggle which had been followed in the German Democratic Republic with admiration and sympathy. Developments in Nicaragua, he said, were proof of the ability of a people to take its fate into its own hands, to set up its chosen social order and resolutely to fight ignorance and misery. He expressed full support for the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Central American conflict, and he welcomed the activities of the Contadora States to that end. He called for a resumption of the talks in Manzanillo between the United States and Nicaragua, talks suspended by the United States. Mr. Honecker assured President Ortega of the firm friendship and active solidarity of the German Democratic Republic in Nicaragua's struggle to continue its national democratic construction.

137. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Argentina. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

138. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the honourable office of President of the Security Council for the month of May and to wish you every success in carrying out your difficult functions. I want also to express my gratitude to the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, for the skilful manner in which he presided over the Security Council last month. In addition, Sir, I wish to thank you for granting me the opportunity to address this Council.

139. My Government has been following with profound concern the developments in Central America, and it is of the view that Argentina, as a member of the Latin American community, has a responsibility in the search for solutions to the conflict besetting its sister peoples. There is no doubt that the complexity of the problems we face and the gravity of the possible consequences affect the entire international community. But we are convinced that it is first and foremost the countries of the region which must find the proper means for a solution. In this connection, the contribution the Council could make to regional efforts is of fundamental importance.

140. We believe this to be the proper moment to reiterate our conviction that the only genuine alternatives for achieving peace in Central America are the process of political negotiations initiated two years ago by the members of the Contadora Group and the resumption of the dialogue begun at the Manzanillo meetings. Argentina has most strongly pledged its support to the efforts of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, and it feels that those efforts should be continued and encouraged. Therefore we cannot fail to express our dismay at any unilateral measure which departs from the spirit behind the Latin American Contadora effort. The strength and importance of Contadora come not only from its Latin American nature, but result also from its full adherence to the principles of international and inter-American law deeply engrained in all our peoples.

141. I reiterate again that it is essential to persist on the path of dialogue in order to find, in that way and with due guarantees, peaceful and lasting solutions.

142. By means of joint action by the Latin American countries it is possible, moreover, to prevent the Central American conflict from becoming part of a much broader confrontation and our region from having to bear the consequences of East-West confrontation.

143. Argentina's traditional position of respect for the principles of inter-American international law—to whose formulation and practice we have made a decisive contribution—is well known. There could be no better time, therefore, to recall the words of the distinguished Argentine statesman and former Minister for Foreign Relations, Honorio Pueyrredón, who said that

> "The sovereignty of States is embodied in absolute rights, in full internal autonomy and in complete

external independence. For strong nations, these rights are guaranteed by their strength and for weak ones by respect on the part of the strong. If these rights are not absolute in their formulation and implementation, international legal harmony cannot exist.

"These principles, which have been enshrined as one conquest of civilization, are particularly important in America for the happy coexistence of the peoples that make it up. The Argentine Republic has practised these tenets throughout its history."

144. The principles of non-intervention and self-determination are part and parcel of the history of Latin America, whose countries were the very ones to spare no effort in consolidating them. The practice of those principles is a constant in my country's foreign policy. On many occasions, especially in his address to the General Assembly, at the 5th meeting of its thirty-ninth session, President Alfonsín has maintained that they constitute the foundation of civilized coexistence.

145. It is basic to any negotiating process that the parties refrain from adopting measures which could increase the difficulty of finding solutions. In recent months my Government has noted with concern that this is not the case in Central America. There are many factors which have contributed to the deterioration of the situation and impede the progress of diplomatic efforts.

146. Today we are considering in the Council a new circumstance which is causing the deterioration of the climate of confidence necessary to make progress along the path to the achievement of lasting agreements. We believe that the imposition of economic sanctions against the Government of Nicaragua is not only impeding a speedy solution of the conflict but can also lead to a hardening of positions and, what is even more serious, to a polarization of positions.

147. Argentina has maintained a clear position on the imposition of economic measures against a State. My country was affected by coercive measures of this kind not very long ago, at the time of the conflict over the Malvinas Islands, when we received the unanimous support and solidarity of the Latin American countries. Such measures are in keeping neither with the provisions of international law nor with the development of friendly relations among States; they diminish the possibilities for achieving solutions and, by and large, lead to results opposite to those originally sought. In the context of the hemisphere, t' ey contravene the provisions of article 19 of the charter of the Organization of American States. In the context of the United Nations, furthermore, they have been clearly rejected in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, found in General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX), and in many other Assembly resolutions, particularly in resolutions 38/197 and 39/210.

148. I shall conclude this brief statement by reading out the declaration issued by my country's Ministry of Foreign Relations and Worship on the third of this month; it completely summarizes the arguments that I have just set forth. The communiqué states:

"The Argentine Government regrets the developments in the Central American crisis and expresses its profound concern at the enactment of economic measures by the Government of the United States.

"Similarly, it deplores all acts by any of the parties involved which further make the possibility of a peaceful and final political solution for the region more remote. Such a solution can be found only on the basis of respect for the principles of inter-American international law and by removing this crisis from the East-West conflict.

"The Contadora Group, today more than ever, needs the real support of the countries of the world; more emphatically, it needs the political will of the American continent and encouragement in its efforts which, we believe, can be helped by resumption of the Manzanillo dialogue designed to bring peace to Latin America."

149. THE PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

150. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): Allow me, first of all, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I should like also to congratulate the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for his skilful conduct of the Council's work during the month of April. I thank all the members of the Council for giving us the opportunity to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda.

151. The aggravated tension in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua, as a result of the hostile acts by the United States has become a constant concern of the international community. In the last few weeks we have witnessed new steps of escalation in the United States policy of interventionist and continued acts or threat of aggression against Nicaragua.

152. After the Reagan Administration had publicly professed its intention to overthrow the Sandinist Government of Nicaragua, it took a further dangerous step by imposing a total embargo against that country. This new act is obviously in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation signed by the two countries.

153. During the last three meetings the representative of Nicaragua and many other representatives provided us with a vivid account and exposed specific illegal aspects of United States acts against the Nicaraguan

people's independence, sovereignty and freedom to establish a new social system.

154. In spite of the United States slanderous allegation that Nicaragua is a "satellite of the Soviet Union" —which is aimed at justifying new acts by the United States—no one is taken in. The international community knows too well who is the trouble-maker in the region and has voiced its indignation and opposition to the so-called Reagan peace plan for Central America and to hostile United States acts.

155. Many Central and Latin American countries which must constantly face the economic pressure and threat by their northern neighbour have voiced their condemnation. Many allies of the United States have criticized the attitude adopted by it and have made clear that they will not follow the United States manoeuvre. People of conscience—amongst them many politicians and parliamentarians in Western Europe and the United States—have marched in protest against United States acts and threat of aggression against Nicaragua. The shouts of "US hands off Nicaragua!" have echoed through many cities in Europe and even in the United States. The message is perfectly clear: people do not want to see another inhuman, immoral and illegal war in Central America.

156. The latest moves by the United States help bring back memories of what it did in many parts of the world. I am not going to cite the cases of the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Guatemala, Grenada, Lebanon, and so on. I will just mention the particular case of Viet Nam since, in the escalation of coercive measures and force by the United States, a similarity can be found in these two cases—that is, Viet Nam and Nicaragua. We Vietnamese people were once slandered as an "instrument of the Soviet Union and of China", and therefore we are not at all surprised by the United States "dirty old trick" towards Nicaragua. We were subjected to various measures and steps in an escalation that led to the longest, biggest and bloodiest war of aggression by the United States, which ended only after two long decades—21 years, to be exact. What happened to Viet Nam is now likely to happen to Nicaragua and to other countries as well, for a war of aggression is what escalation will lead to.

157. The danger of such a war is real, and Nicaragua is fully justified in being on the alert in the face of United States hostile acts. As the victim of United States criminal acts in a war having many far-reaching consequences that will take us years to overcome, we consider it our responsibility to give solid testimony before the Council: the acts of the United States not only threaten the independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua but also endanger the peace, security and stability of the region and of the world at large. They are absolutely contrary to the legitimate interests of the peoples of Nicaragua and the United States and of all the peoples of the region.

158. We strongly denounce and condemn the United States acts and threats of aggression against Nicaragua, and we demand that the United States put an immediate end to its dangerous and hostile acts against Nicaragua. We urge the Council to take effective measures to compel this permanent member to do so. We call upon the international community fully to support the Nicaraguan people at this critical time.

159. We commend the Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for the Bureau's prompt response to Nicaragua's appeal. We fully support the communiqué [*S/17163, annex*] the Bureau adopted by consensus at its last meeting, which was presented by the representative of India on its behalf. We also support the draft resolution before the Council [*S/17172*]. We believe that its adoption is the least the Council can do right now in support of Nicaragua—a small, non-aligned country and a full Member of the Organization.

160. The people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam admire the Nicaraguan people and Government, which are now fighting for their survival as an independent and sovereign State. Encouraged by the truth of our time—that is, that a small nation, with the support and assistance of friendly countries, can firmly defend its country against an enemy many times bigger and stronger—the people of Nicaragua will certainly win final victory in their struggle for national independence and freedom. We welcome the good will of the Nicaraguan Government in the search for a peaceful solution to the conflict. We have repeatedly voiced our support for the just cause of our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua. The successful recent visit to Nicaragua by the Chairman of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is testimony to that statement. We reaffirm our support of the position of the Government of Nicaragua that the bilateral talks in Manzanillo between Nicaragua and the United States should be resumed without delay and that the efforts of the Contadora Group be given full support.

161. We are now living in the 1980s—the latter part of the twentieth century—when no country, no matter how big and strong it may be, can dictate the course for other countries to follow. The United States should learn its lessons and face reality. Otherwise it can only drag itself into failure and defeat. A second "Viet Nam war" would not be a good thing for the United States. That is the verdict of history.

162. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

163. Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: Mr. President, I should like to begin by thanking you and the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to speak in the

Security Council. We trust that you will preside over the Council's proceedings with your well-known competence and wisdom. We should like also to express our delegation's appreciation of the excellent manner in which the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, guided this Council last month.

164. The Council is meeting again today to consider the complaint of the Nicaraguan Government regarding the danger posed by the United States threat against Nicaragua. This situation was described in a very well-balanced manner by the representative of Nicaragua the day before yesterday in his statement.

165. The recent imposition, with no legal foundation, of a trade embargo and coercive economic measures by the Government of the United States of America against the people and Government of Nicaragua constitutes a flagrant violation of Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolutions 38/10 and 39/4. The imposition of the economic measures and the unlawful blockade also flagrantly violates the Charter of the United Nations and the principles and norms of international law. It is contrary to all international principles and traditions, particularly those concerning the freedom of States to choose their economic, political and social systems. It is contrary to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, a principle contained in the Charter. It is contrary to the efforts of the Contadora Group to bring about a negotiated political solution to the dangerous problem facing the Central American region.

166. The Syrian Arab Republic, in keeping with its total solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua and in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the decisions of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, must condemn the complete trade embargo imposed by the United States. We also condemn the other measures of economic pressure adopted recently against Nicaragua. We believe that, in addition to the military operations, this is part of an imperialist, colonialist manoeuvre designed to destabilize the Government of Nicaragua and to overthrow it. The Syrian Arab Republic believes that these acts of provocation increase tensions in the Central American region and constitute a threat to peace and security there.

167. The Syrian Arab Republic fully supports the efforts of the Contadora Group to find a political solution in the region and affirms its full solidarity with Nicaragua in its attempts to achieve a political solution.

168. The Government of the Syrian Arab Republic calls for an immediate end to all threats, attacks, acts of aggression and coercive economic measures against the people and Government of Nicaragua. We call on the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities under the terms of the Charter, to condemn this economic aggression and to support the struggling people and Government of Nicaragua.

169. Syria is one of the Arab countries suffering from the attempts to achieve imperialist domination and colonial hegemony, just as are Nicaragua and other countries in Latin America. On that basis we feel we are in the same trench with other non-aligned States, struggling against efforts to achieve hegemony and domination over peoples.

170. We listened to the representative of the United States yesterday, and it is ironic that his Government, while condemning decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on economic measures against the racist régimes of South Africa and Israel, tries to fabricate feeble pretexts and arguments in favour of imposing an embargo against any country which is struggling to achieve independence and self-determination. It is as though the Middle East, Latin America and southern Africa are its exclusive domain, as though it can determine their affairs the way it likes, with no regard for the will of their peoples. The complaint before the Council today clearly shows the flagrant contradiction in the United States positions.

171. We feel that these contradictory positions are not in keeping with the international obligations entered into by the United States, as a super-Power and a permanent member of the Security Council. Therefore we call upon the Government of the United States to fulfil its obligations under the Charter and its other bilateral and multilateral obligations, and to resume the bilateral talks with the Government of Nicaragua with a view to reaching agreements based on mutual respect and the right to self-determination.

172. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic affirms its full solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua and calls for an immediate end to all threats, attacks, acts of aggression and coercive economic measures, including the trade embargo, against the people of Nicaragua and its national democratically elected Government. We express our hope that the Council will shoulder its major responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in order to put an end to this dangerous state of affairs, which constitutes a threat to the peace and security of the region.

173. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Honduras. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

174. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: First of all, Sir, let me say how pleased we are to see you presiding over the meetings of the Council this month. We have had occasion, since 1973, to work with you in various international meetings and conferences, and we have seen for ourselves your equanimity and high diplomatic skill, which guarantee success in your task. We also wish to extend our gratitude to the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for the wise manner in which he performed the duties of President in April. We thank the Council for

having invited us to participate without the right to vote in the discussions on the item on its agenda.

175. So far the Contadora negotiating process has had a positive balance sheet. At the latest plenipotentiary meeting, held on 11 and 12 April, new progress was made, with agreement to the establishment of mechanisms for verification and control and the essential bases of the required procedures connected with political affairs and refugees, security matters and economic and social matters.

176. Honduras continues to take a serious and resolute part in the Contadora negotiating process, which is intended to continue next week, from 14 to 17 May. In this context, the Foreign Ministers of El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras met on 7 May in San Salvador to prepare f[illegible]heir participation in the next Contadora meeting. As a result of their talks they issued the Declaration of San Salvador, an excerpt from which has been distributed in document S/17174.

177. Moreover, the Government of Honduras is at present studying the trade embargo decreed by the United States against Nicaragua, from the point of view of its implications for Central American economic relations. This subject will also be dealt with at a meeting of the Central American Monetary Council, whose members are the five Central American Governments, to be convened on 17 May at San José de Costa Rica. After that, there will be a joint meeting of the ministers for trade and the presidents of the central banks of all the Central American States.

178. With all that going on, it had not been our intention to take part in what we had thought was going to be a debate and the consideration of a draft resolution confined to the deterioration of the bilateral relations between the United States and Nicaragua. Through such an attitude we sought to reflect our desire to concentrate on the essential aspects involved in finding a solution to the Central American crisis and thereby avoid associating ourselves in the reopening of discussions—all too familiar to the Council and the General Assembly—on the positions of each of the Central American States on this matter.

179. However, despite all expectations, we were not able to adhere to our intentions—and we informed you of this, Mr. President, when you were good enough to hold some consultations with the countries concerned—because, on the one hand, the objective stated as the basis for the convening of the Council has been presented with such a broad scope that it gives rise to confusion. What Nicaragua is in fact seeking as a pronouncement by the Council on its bilateral relations with the United States—and this is reflected in paragraph 1 of its draft resolution [*S/17172*]—is not in conformity with the broad objective of its request for the convening of the Council "for the purpose of considering the extremely serious situation which the Central American region is facing at the present time" [*see S/17156*]. In order to fill in this omission, Nicaragua, in the rest of its draft resolution, refers primarily to itself, and then to "the rest of the States of the region".

180. But the Nicaraguan Government is ill-placed to act as a spokesman in an objective evaluation of the situation in Central America. After all, it is a party to the conflict and to a very large extent is responsible for it.

181. On the other hand, the turn which this debate has taken in regard to the handling of the agenda item before us makes it essential to ensure that the treatment of a specific aspect relating to Central American relations does not lead to confusion and a misleading situation concerning the determination that has been made of the causes of the Central American crisis and the prospects for a comprehensive solution in keeping with those causes, and therefore to a disruption of the progress made in the Contadora negotiating process.

182. Therefore, with regard to the item on the agenda pertaining to the extremely grave situation in Central America, it is relevant for this debate to encompass all the elements that have led to and perpetuated that grave situation. With that in mind, one cannot disregard the serious events directed against other countries of the Central American region. We shall give just three recent examples that show the kind of thing that is being done against my country.

183. First, last week six Nicaraguan members of the Sandinist Front who were working for the Nicaraguan army were captured in Honduras. They confessed that their mission had been—in the case of some of them, since 1979—to trans-ship weapons and hide them in various parts of Honduran territory. The purpose was to serve as a liaison group in the preparation of the infrastructure to be used by Honduran groups that continue to train in Nicaraguan subversive schools and in countries outside the region, with the aim of disrupting the stability of Honduras. It should be noted that when this same item on the situation in Central America was considered in the General Assembly on 8 November 1983, we drew attention to similar events when we said:

> "It should be recalled that on 19 July, the day Nicaraguans were celebrating the anniversary of their revolution, the Nicaraguan Government had a hand in the crossing from its territory into Honduras of the first one hundred armed subversives, who were duly brought under control, thanks to the support of the people of the countryside. However, the information obtained from the subversives who were captured or who deserted reveals that about 2,000 men are undergoing military training to enter Honduras from Nicaragua as subversives."

184. Secondly, since 4 May this year, opposite an eastern sector of Honduras bordering on Nicaragua there has been a movement of more than 10,000 Sandinist soldiers, backed up by an incredible force of

artillery, including the horrendous instruments of indiscriminate killing known as "Stalin's organs", with colossal destructive power. Those troops have committed territorial violations against Honduras and have been intensely bombing, daily, the sector of Honduran territory bordering on Nicaragua. This has had a particularly adverse effect on the Honduran farm population in seven villages. More than 5,000 persons have been forced to leave their homes and move inland, and more than one hundred Nicaraguans have sought refuge in our territory for the same reasons. This new flow of refugees has been added to the more than 25,000 Nicaraguan refugees now receiving humanitarian protection in our country. The Honduran army has just moved certain military units towards this focal point of tension engendered by the Nicaraguan Government. The National Security Council announced yesterday its intention to remain constantly in session in order to deal with this problem of the tense situation in this border area.

185. Thirdly, on 2 April this year there was another breach of the territorial sovereignty of Honduras, with the capture of a convoy of 17 Sandinist soldiers and seven trucks that had penetrated seven kilometres into Honduran territory. The Government of Nicaragua explained that "a regrettable misunderstanding has occurred: these men unintentionally crossed the border". The Government of Honduras returned these soldiers and trucks to the Nicaraguan Government on Saturday, 27 April. This is a case worthy of analysis, if we compare this new gesture of good will by the Honduras Government with the attitude of the Nicaraguan army, which, on 8 May last year, in a despicable act, shot down without any warning an unarmed Honduran helicopter that had accidentally strayed into Nicaraguan airspace because of the weather. This attack caused the death of eight Hondurans, most of them civilians, who had a strictly administrative task in Honduran territory.

186. By way of introduction we shall confine ourselves to these three examples of actions at variance with the charter of the Organization of American States, the Charter of the United Nations and the peaceful objectives of the Contadora process. Knowledge of these cases may be helpful to those who are concerned with the need to follow developments and arrive at a serious assessment of the grave situation now prevailing in Central America.

187. In his statement on 8 May [*2577th meeting*], the representative of Nicaragua specifically referred to certain activities being carried out in Honduran territory. The representative of the Soviet Union asserted [*2578th meeting*] that, since Nicaragua had been accused of intervening in the affairs of its neighbours, the question should be asked why such neighbours had been silent in the Council.

188. In view of the foregoing reasons, Honduras found itself compelled to take part in this debate, which directly affects its interests and those of other Central American countries, since an attempt was made to give a very partial and tendentious view of the situation now prevailing in Central America, of those who bear the responsibility for this situation and those who are the victims and of its origins and of the consequence, and, above all, to downplay the primary responsibility and the sovereign right of the five Central American States to resolve the situation themselves.

189. It has to be said that we Hondurans regret, as a matter of principle, that any Central American country should find its traditional foreign trade relations disrupted, for that in turn has a disrupting effect on Central American relations generally. Our feelings are much stronger, however, and more profound and far-reaching when it comes to the causes of these disruptions and other effects which ought to have been avoided in Central America.

190. Causes and effects are inseparable elements in determining a proper treatment for a specific problem. It is not rational or sound judgement to analyse only the effects without attending to the causes. On the contrary, an analysis of the causes is essential if one really wants to understand why the dignity of the Central Americans has been wounded and why the well-being of our populations has been jeopardized and our region's identity compromised.

191. All this deserves an effort at understanding, because it appears that the reality in Central America is not known to countries outside the area. That is why we must clearly state that it is not only the Nicaraguan population but the entire Central American population, and particularly the poorer part of that population, that is the victim of the Central American crisis.

192. One of the effects which has a bearing on this crisis, and which is now part of this debate, has to do with the interruption by the United States of its trade relations with Nicaragua. However, the result of the isolated analysis of this effect could not possibly express the full complexity of the conflict in Central America. Therefore any resolution that may be adopted by the Council on the unilateral measures taken by the United States regarding the roots of the grave situation in Central America will have no value as a precedent in support of a country of the region that publicly refuses to admit its own responsibility for the crisis.

193. Central America is an entity with roots that go deep into history, geography and economy. Consequently, whatever has an impact on each or several of its parts has an effect on the entire region, particularly when there are fundamental divergencies in relations between those States.

194. For Honduras the crisis has its basic Central American origin in economic backwardness, in social marginalization and lack of political, democratic and pluralistic development. In order to overcome these obstacles, the action of each Central American country

is justified if it is carried out in the search for the collective well-being of the population as a whole and within the proper sphere of action of the individual country. If internal sovereign actions were kept within these limits, we would not now have direct repercussions and conflict which have caused the current irregularities between the States of the region.

195. Unfortunately the Nicaraguan Government has so far not stayed within the boundaries of the legitimate exercise of its sovereign powers, since it has created wrenching divisions within its own population and has also disregarded the substance of resolutions, principles and norms of the inter-American system and of the United Nations. These governmental actions have come to have an impact on the political, economic, cultural and security aspects of other Central American countries, particularly Honduras, which has suffered acutely from these harmful repercussions.

196. This crisis overflowed the Central American framework with the intrusion of the East-West conflict provoked by the alignment of the Government of Nicaragua, and particularly because of the immoderate arms buildup of that Government as a result of that alignment and the consequent policy of ideological expansionism, which brought in their train insecurity and imbalance in the region.

197. These causes directly produced the effects that can be seen in the form of massive flows of refugees to neighbouring countries, support for subversive movements against those countries, terrorism in their territories, the flight of Central American capital, the significant decline of foreign investment, deterioration of intraregional trade and the diversion of large resources that should have been devoted to development and which instead are being devoted to the spectacular and massive arms buildup of the Nicaraguan Government and the minimum defence needs of its neighbours.

198. As an effect, and in antithesis of this, there also emerged groups of Nicaraguan insurgents acting against the Government of Nicaragua and a tense situation now prevailing in the Central American region.

199. As the Declaration of San Salvador [*see S/17174, annex*] says, there must be, in all countries where profound divisions in society have arisen, actions taken within the established legal order aimed at achieving national reconciliation. Sovereignty and self-determination find their source in the population as a whole, from which there emanates the power that any genuinely democratic, pluralistic Government exercises in representing the people. That is why the Government of Honduras has declared that it officially endorses any measure which can contribute to the democratization of Nicaragua or any other country through processes of internal reconciliation.

200. Honduras has approximately 17,200 persons under arms. None the less, it has granted refuge to a number of nationals of Central American countries that is more than three times the total manpower of the Honduran armed forces, which have to fulfil their obligations to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic, maintain the peace, public order, constitutional rule, the principles of free suffrage and the proper rotation of the exercise of the presidency of the Republic. Those duties imply obligations to be fulfilled throughout the territory and the need to keep a watch on our borders with Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, as well as the borders and marine resources in the corresponding areas bordering on more than six States, including the ones I have just mentioned.

201. Honduras, as we have frequently said, has not wished to build up those forces quantitatively, but has chosen to improve them qualitatively. This accounts for the joint military exercises with the United States, based on our public agreement on military co-operation in 1954, which is being renegotiated at the moment in order, among other things, to regulate more precisely such military activities. We have already sufficiently explained the nature of those manoeuvres in the Council and in the General Assembly, where we have also stated that there are no foreign bases in Honduras and that the presence of Americans on our soil is not of a permanent nature. The day before yesterday the representative of Nicaragua referred to those manoeuvres and criticized the United States presence, building it up very considerably by claiming that there was a permanent presence of approximately 2,000 United States military personnel.

202. This figure, even though it is incorrect, surely cannot be compared with the figure of no less than 8,000 foreign military and security advisers in Nicaragua. Our joint military exercises, which are publicly announced and of which notification is given, are surely on a smaller scale than those carried out by the Nicaraguan armed forces, which are in a state of constant mobilization, with the guidance and training of the incredible number of foreign military and security advisers, diverse arsenals of weapons and military hardware and the logistics which make possible the permanent imposition of strict police control and a state of emergency throughout the territory.

203. We believe firmly that the solution of Central America's problems is a matter for Central Americans themselves to decide. In the Declaration of San Salvador, the foreign ministers of Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras and the Deputy Foreign Minister of Guatemala considered that:

> "a fundamental requirement for the achievement of peace in Central America is the signing of multilateral international instruments that will lay down the rules for coexistence between the States of the area, on the basis that the sovereign power to formulate the alternatives for a solution rests with the Central American countries, with the valuable assistance of the Contadora Group."

This statement meets the wishes of virtually all Central Americans. However, the obvious military presence in Central America of the United States and of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Libya and other countries aligned with them cannot be disregarded.

204. The United States has said that it supports the Contadora negotiating process, that its bilateral negotiations should be seen only as support for the negotiations within the Contadora framework and the internal dialogue in Nicaragua, and that none of its actions can replace those efforts to achieve a comprehensive, verifiable agreement between all the Central American States. This was stated in the letter from President Reagan to Senator Dole on 24 May. The Soviet Union has given its support verbally to this machinery for negotiation. Cuba has stated, in a letter from its representative to the Secretary-General dated 5 March 1985 [*A/39/876*], that it "will continue to support firmly the effort of the Contadora Group to reach a just agreement that satisfies all the countries of Central America", and that the other countries which also supply arms, military and security advisers and technical experts to the Nicaraguan Government have theoretically affirmed the same.

205. This leads us to the conclusion that the Contadora framework is the most suitable framework within which we Central Americans may be able to find a Central American solution to our conflict at an early date. In the two years for which Contadora has been at work it has been possible to identify the causes of the Central American crisis and to advocate global and regional solutions to eradicate these causes and control their effects.

206. Therefore, we urge the Nicaraguan Government to attend the Contadora meetings scheduled for 14 to 17 May with the political will to negotiate so as to achieve peace, security and co-operation in Central America. Here is an opportunity to resolve the Central American crisis in a reasonably short time with due respect for the personality of the constituent elements of each Central American State and for the security of each of those States. That is why Honduras reiterates its consistent readiness to seek a peaceful, negotiated solution and to maintain the political will to encourage the quest for such solutions.

207. In an annex to a note by the Secretary-General dated 13 October 1983, issued as document S/16041, we have the Document of Objectives adopted and ratified by the five Central American States. The content of that Document provides the comprehensive basis for reaching an understanding on the conclusion of an agreement on peace and co-operation in Central America. Therefore, the adoption by any Central American Government of a position which selfishly seeks certain objectives only while excluding all the others serves to undermine the foundations of negotiation and suggests that it really wants to seek outside support in order to achieve hegemony or military superiority or to impose interests contrary to the collective understanding which might lead to a peaceful negotiated settlement.

208. We are now at a stage where, far from yet again opening the veins of Central America in order to aggravate the pain of its wounds, which we are trying to heal, all the Governments of Central America should unite their will and their action even more determinedly in order to make progress in this process of negotiation and move towards a solution which will promote the well-being and development of Central America.

209. We must struggle for the affirmation of the identity of Central America and for the well-being of our peoples. That is why we must completely remove expansionist ambitions, arms races and foreign presences which have introduced the East-West conflict as a kind of parasite to drain the sap of the tree of Central American coexistence and harmony. Removing them will be possible only if we avoid perverting the true Contadora spirit, which is reflected in the need to set out, in legally binding and fully verifiable articles, all the 21 objectives whose attainment is the goal of the negotiation of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

210. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

211. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Mr. President, I congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I am confident that under the leadership of such a capable and skilful President the Council's work will come to a happy and honourable conclusion. I also extend my special thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, representative of Peru, for the masterly way in which he administered the affairs of the Council during the month of April.

212. This series of meetings of the Security Council is convened at Nicaragua's request in order to consider the extremely serious situation which is threatening peace and stability in the Central American region.

213. The background of the United States intervention in the region is well known to everybody. The role of the CIA in the preservation of certain surrogate régimes, in toppling certain democratically elected Governments and returning to power, in their stead, tyrant military puppets and in overt and covert intervention in the affairs of other peoples, particularly in this region of Central America, which the United States has declared its own backyard, is too obvious to need any further exposition. It is as if from the viewpoint of the United States Administration the principle of self-determination has no validity or applicability in its backyard.

214. The Central American region is destined to remain in the neighbourhood of the United States. The people of the region cannot change the geographical location of their countries. They are bound to be in the so-called backyard of the United States; it is not their own free choice. But why should adjacency to the United States be viewed as a natural calamity? It is not a very honourable situation for the United States Administration if the people in its backyard feel unfortunate simply because geographical conditions have forced upon them presence in the neighbourhood of the United States. It is a cause for indignation and dishonour if neighbours of a great nation like the United States are bound to view being in its neighbourhood as a sort of predicament.

215. The United States Administration, morally speaking, has a very serious obligation not only towards the revolutionary people of Nicaragua but also towards the good people of the United States, whose honour and reputation are being so lavishly plundered by their short-sighted Administration.

216. The fact that the principles of sovereignty and self-determination are not violated by the United States in regard to certain countries thousands of miles from it does not mean that the United States Administration has any respect for those principles. Sincere respect for them can be demonstrated only if the United States refrains from violating them in spite of its physical ability to do so and despite political pretexts for such violations. In this matter the United States Administration has a very poor record indeed.

217. Another point to be mentioned is the United States anti-Communist obsession, which is often over-emphasized tendentiously and in a very well-calculated manner. United States officials know all too well that communism is an ideology which is pervasive under certain socio-economic conditions, when there is no better solution available to a people. It is not a front; it is not an army; it is an ideology, and therefore it cannot be fought against by CIA conspiracies, military operations or covert insurgency programmes backed by $14 million or $20 million. It is an ideology, and its antidote, or its counter, is only another ideology. If the superior ideology is presented to the oppressed masses, they automatically accept it; otherwise, they accept the communist ideology, as they think it is the only theoretical instrument which can help them to explain, understand and, hopefully, solve their socio-economic problems. If the United States has then decided to bar the spread of communist ideas by its CIA agents or sanctions here and there, it is very wrong. It is doubtful that this fact is not yet appreciated by United States officials. Not only do they know it, but they also know that communism is not really a serious threat to the United States affluent society, which is prepared to try everything—even nihilism—but not communism.

218. The fact is that the United States Administration over-emphasizes the danger of the spread of communism in order to deceive the American public and then to justify its interventionist policies in the region. United States officials always refer to Nicaragua as a threat to the United States or to United States interests.

219. Compared with the United States, Nicaragua is such a tiny country that it just cannot constitute a threat to a country that has "Star Wars" ambitions. Its population, as we have often said, is about 2.5 million, whereas the registered alcoholics in the United States alone total 10 million. The threat from Nicaragua is nothing but a delusion which the United States propaganda machine is inculcating into the minds of its own people in order to justify both its colossal military budgets and its interventionist foreign policy. Fortunately, the good people of the United States are not so naïve as to support such demagogic propaganda. The recent votes in the United States Congress indicate that they understand both Nicaragua and the games their own Administration is playing with them in the case of Nicaragua. Not only did Congress not give the President the $20 million he originally needed for terrorist attacks against Nicaragua; they did not even give him the $14 million which was to be spent in the guise of non-military assistance to the Somoza elements.

220. It was said yesterday in this Chamber that "the Sandinist Front and Somoza are the same thing". Without a doubt, such demagogic street-slogans have no place in this Chamber. At least the Somoza elements do not agree with such vapid slogans.

221. The United States yesterday charged Nicaragua with interference in its domestic affairs when the latter country commented on the fair and commendable position of Congress towards the $14 million appropriations bill. Yet it sees nothing wrong with the official declaration made by high-ranking United States authorities regarding the continued United States efforts to topple the Sandinist régime in Nicaragua. It seems that speculation in dissidents and counter-revolutionary fugitives is a well-known policy of the United States Administration, but such policies are not usually considered by that Administration as intervention in the affairs of other sovereign States.

222. We think that United States foreign policy is inconsistent, haphazard and absolutely devoid of any moral principle. They just plan it and implement it simply because they have the physical ability to do so. They impose sanctions against Nicaragua but violate the internationally recognized sanctions against South Africa. They boldly and unjustifiably obstruct the recommended sanctions against the Zionist base occupying Palestine. In spite of all that, the United States Administration expects to enjoy international respect and high status.

223. If there were any wisdom at all in the United States Administration, then United States officials

should have heard the message sent when 30 members of the Portuguese Parliament left their seats vacant. It was not enough to get around this with some buffoonish joke. The reaction of the European Parliament also had a message; the demonstrations in Madrid had a message; and surely the long list of speakers who wished to make brief statements here in support of Nicaragua has a message as well. Instead of trying in a very reactionary manner to improvise defensive answers to all these messages, the United States should exhibit self-confidence and respond to them positively and constructively.

224. The local differences between Nicaragua and its neighbours should be resolved through the good offices of the Contadora Group, which has the confidence of all the parties concerned. The United States Administration should, therefore, allow that Group to perform its job without coercion or intervention.

225. The United States Administration should avoid all abrasive and acrimonious policies towards the revolutionary people of Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan revolution is a point of pride for the people of the western hemisphere. No one can deny the pathos of that revolution. When the young Commander Ortega, the symbol of the Nicaraguan revolution, arrives in any Central American or other Latin American State, States I have personally visited, the masses give him such a warm, sincere and exalting welcome that it is as if each person in the procession wished to carry the champion, Commander Ortega, in his heart in order to protect him and the Nicaraguan revolution from the gigantic threat of the United States.

226. The sincere emotional language of those masses who run, often barefoot, from one corner of the square to the other in order to see Commander Ortega has a message too. If the United States wishes those barefoot masses of Central America to have a friendly attitude towards it, then it must respect their regional champions, to whom millions look as a model for liberation and emancipation. The issue, therefore, is slightly larger than a so-called debate in Security Council meetings. It is about the manner in which the United States Administration confronts a revolution which may be small in terms of the population involved, but which is very great in terms of dimensions, impact and pathos. It is a revolution of a people and has its own unique revolutionary magnanimity, especially in the eyes of millions who wish to identify themselves with the Nicaraguan revolution rather than with United States tributary and surrogate régimes in the region.

227. You must show respect to that revolution if you wish to be respected. The remnants of the Somoza régime are not going to buy anything for the American people, no matter how much "American democracy" is wasted on them. It is in the interest of the peoples of the region, including the United States people, for the United States Administration to come down to earth and recognize the genuine Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua and the legitimately and democratically elected Sandinist régime in that country.

228. In one of yesterday's speeches I heard an improper comment regarding Nicaragua's economic difficulties and the devaluation of its currency. My question is: who is to be blamed for those economic difficulties? The CIA and its overt and covert activities? The economic sanctions? The mining of Nicaragua's borders? The attacks on the tiny and simple economic resources of Nicaragua? Or the Sandinist Government? The ill-omened insurgency plots of the United States employ all possible devices to break the infrastructure of the Nicaraguan economy, and then the United States delegation scolds Nicaragua for the devaluation of its currency. Is that fair?

229. My delegation believes that this unsalutary rancour unnecessarily demonstrated by United States officials towards Nicaragua must come to an end before it ignites further turmoil in that part of the world. What the United States Administration is doing against Nicaragua is precisely what has been referred to as State terrorism.

230. I request you, Mr. President, and all other members of the Council—except one, that is—to exert every effort to terminate United States acts of hostility against Nicaragua. As far as I can recall, Nicaragua has always been ready to negotiate with the United States to resolve peacefully any differences that may exist. The United States Administration needs to be convinced that it is peace, love and mutual respect that can guarantee United States interests in the region, not fear, coercion, intimidation, conspiracy and the employment of Somoza elements by the CIA in covert and overt insurgency operations.

231. My Government fully supports the revolutionary people and the democratically elected Government of Nicaragua. We strongly deplore all United States interventions in the internal affairs of Nicaragua. We deplore also any kind of intimidation and use of force by any foreign Power, including the United States, against the sovereignty and right to self-determination of the people of Nicaragua.

232. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

233. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like to take this opportunity to express to you, Sir, my delegation's and my own satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Council's proceedings this month. I am convinced that your personal and professional qualities will help the Council to perform its delicate task with success. I should also like to extend our congratulations, through you, Mr. President, to the representative of

Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, on his excellent performance as President of the Council in the month of April.

234. The Spanish Government viewed with profound concern the recent adoption of economic sanctions against Nicaragua by the United States. This may constitute a new element of tension in the area and an obstacle in the difficult path to the peaceful, negotiated solution of the Central American crisis.

235. The Central American countries have for more than two years now been engaged in a complex negotiating process fostered by the Contadora countries. From the start this process has enjoyed the active support of the Spanish Government and has also earned the support of the international community as a whole, as is borne out by the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council itself.

236. The Contadora process, which is based on the quest for a comprehensive regional, negotiated solution, constitutes, in the view of the Spanish Government, the only possible means of achieving the pacification of the whole Central American region, which must be guaranteed by stability, development and democratic pluralism in each and all of those countries, in accordance with the commitments into which they have repeatedly entered. The present course of the negotiating process fostered by Contadora could be adversely affected by the measures adopted against Nicaragua.

237. For all those reasons, my Government will continue to advocate the course of regional negotiation, which must have the support of all countries which have interests in and links with the region, as stated in the 21-point Document of Objectives of 9 September 1983.

238. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

239. Mr. BERROCAL SOTO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the equanimity and skill that you have shown in the conduct of this debate. I wish you success in your work as President, and I am very pleased that it is the representative of the Government of Thailand who is presiding over the work of the Security Council this month. I also wish to say publicly how grateful I was that you summoned me at one point to your office to find out officially Costa Rica's position on this subject and on the situation in Central America. I wish also to congratulate Mr. Javier Arias Stella, your predecessor, on the fine way in which he carried out the duties of President last month.

240. I shall now read out to the Council the official statement of the Government of Costa Rica on the economic embargo adopted by the United States against Nicaragua:

"The Government of Costa Rica has carefully studied recent developments in Central America. In this context, it is deeply concerned by the increasing number of elements characteristic of the East-West confrontation which are having a particularly exacerbating effect on the regional crisis. The economic measures adopted by the United States Government and Commander Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow are the most visible signs of the increase in regional tension.

"The Government of Costa Rica recognizes that one of the objectives of the adoption of such measures indicated by the Government of the United States—to bring pressure to bear so that an internal dialogue takes place between the Government of Nicaragua and the political and military opposition—is an objective which the present Government of Costa Rica has supported since it began its efforts. Internal dialogue and national reconciliation in Nicaragua and El Salvador have received and will continue to receive the unstinted co-operation of the Government of Costa Rica.

"We also agree that without dialogue between the parties to the conflict and without national reconciliation it will be impossible to move towards the establishment of genuine democratic institutions. Furthermore, without democratic institutions it is impossible to achieve internal peace and remove once and for all the danger of war between the Central American nations.

"The Government of Costa Rica, having studied the situation, has concluded that it is legally impossible for our country to participate in the economic measures, or in activities designed to give effect to them, or to adopt measures of a similar nature.

"It is the opinion of the Government of the Republic that, if Costa Rica were to act in this manner, it would constitute a breach not only of its obligations as a member of the Central American Common Market but also of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship signed with Nicaragua in 1948 and the Protocol to that Treaty signed in 1955.

"Apart from these legal reasons, the Government of Costa Rica considers that participating in any coercive economic measure would constitute an obstacle to the objectives of the Contadora process. Paragraph 47 of the document to which I refer, which is the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*S/16775, annex*], contains a clear commitment among the Central American States not to adopt among themselves coercive or discriminatory measures damaging to the economy of any of the Central American countries.

"The Contadora process itself has repeatedly emphasized the need for internal dialogue and national reconciliation as fundamental objectives of the process. That is why the Government of Costa Rica believes that these objectives must be attained within the framework of Contadora, and its efforts to bring that about have been expressed yet again in the Declaration of San Salvador, issued on 7 May by the Foreign Ministers of Costa Rica, Honduras and El Salvador and the Deputy Foreign Minister of Guatemala."

I wish to point out that the document to which reference was just made has been distributed in document S/17174, which contains a summary of the agreements concluded last week in San Salvador.

241. Next week, between 14 and 17 May, there will be a new round of negotiations as part of the Contadora process. In this regard, Costa Rica wishes to point out that, while the objective of those negotiations is peace in Central America, the process is also designed to bring about conditions favourable for an effective democratization and proper economic development with social justice and political freedom.

242. None of these goals will be attained unless there is an internal dialogue and genuine national reconciliation in countries which are living in a state of internal warfare. I am not talking just about the pacification of the Central American region, although that is a noble and fine objective; what I am talking about is the need for democratic ideas and freedom to be restored in Central America. There is a need to ensure that opposition forces in any of the Central American countries have a legitimate right to speak out and to contribute peacefully to the process of economic development. There is a need to eliminate State terrorism and totalitarianism, repression and the absence of real guarantees for free political participation. Similarly, there is a need to break down the structures of exploitation and social and economic injustice in Central America. It is essential that it be the Central American peoples themselves which freely elect their rulers in honest and democratic elections.

243. That is what is at stake in Central America and that is the goal of the Contadora negotiating process. The Central American peoples have that right.

244. My country has committed itself to this goal in keeping with its legitimate historic role in Central America. Our struggle, past and present, has always been to ensure that the ideas of freedom and democracy prevail, together with a peaceful solution of controversies through dialogue and free confrontation of ideas, without repression or fear of the oppression of dictatorship, whether a family-military dictatorship of the right or a military, sectarian and totalitarian dictatorship of the left. Hence, our full support for the Contadora process and our renewed position that it is at the negotiating table, with maturity and political wisdom and outside the East-West confrontation, that national reconciliation in the countries in a state of war will be achieved, thus attaining peace and genuine democracy, with freedom and social justice for all the countries of Central America.

245. The PRESIDENT: Before we proceed to the vote on the draft resolution, I should like to make a statement in my capacity as representative of THAILAND.

246. I take this opportunity as representative of Thailand to express my Government's grave concern over the issue of the economic embargo by the United States *vis-à-vis* Nicaragua, which has worsened the relationship between the two countries, with both of which Thailand enjoys diplomatic relations. Our concern stems also from the consequent repercussions of this economic embargo, which can have adverse effects on the ongoing Contadora process.

247. My delegation believes that the Contadora Group's proposal for negotiations among all parties concerned in order to arrive at peaceful settlements with viable guarantees is constructive and conforms to the aspirations of the peoples of the region. Therefore Thailand fully supports the Contadora process of diplomatic and political efforts initiated by the countries in the region.

248. Central America has for so long endured many sufferings and grievances. The nations of the region have had to withstand many acts of foreign intervention and interference throughout their history. They have the right to enjoy the fruits of peace, stability and harmony, free from interference from within or without the region in accordance with their own wishes.

249. History is replete with instances of the exercise of power by the more powerful against the less powerful nations. Our sympathy naturally lies with less powerful countries. In our own part of the world there exists a glaring example of the discrepancy between the powerful and the less powerful and its illegal consequence in the occupation of the weak by the stronger, with further encroachments on the neighbouring country of Thailand.

250. It is undeniable that the economic embargo has exacerbated tensions and complicated the Contadora process. Thailand regrets this outcome, which will undermine the Contadora effort to find a comprehensive solution to the situation. This effort has gained the support of countries of the world, including Thailand. However, it is our earnest hope that the Contadora process will continue and will yield fruitful results in assuring peace, stability and harmony for all countries in the Central American region.

251. And, with all due respect to relations between sovereign States, we appeal to both Nicaragua and the United States of America to resume the dialogue in

order to overcome the present difference between them, as in the Manzanillo talks, which were unfortunately broken off.

252. As regards the imposition of an economic embargo, the Royal Thai Government has voluntarily imposed such an embargo against South Africa, which my Government feels is within its sovereign right to do, in support of Thailand's national interest and the effort of the international community to bring about the eradication of *apartheid* and the sovereign independence of the Namibian people. Such actions are not regarded by my Government as inconsistent with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country, a principle that we fully support.

253. Concerning the present draft resolution, my delegation notes that it is moderate in tone and appreciates Nicaragua's efforts in this regard. However, while we regret the recent trade embargo and other coercive economic measures in this instance, namely, against Nicaragua, as being inconsistent with the Contadora process, wo do not go as far as the wording of paragraph 1 of the Nicaraguan draft resolution. Therefore my delegation will abstain in the voting on the draft resolution.

254. I now resume my function as PRESIDENT.

255. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): I have asked to speak to request, under rule 38 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, that the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Nicaragua and contained in document S/17172 of 9 May 1985 be put to the vote. I further request that the Council proceed to the vote now.

256. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): My delegation believes that it is always important to search for and to record areas of agreement. We believe that to act otherwise would be inconsistent with our obligations under the Charter. For that reason, my delegation has listened with great sympathy to the numerous speakers in this debate who have called for a negotiated solution to the problems of Central America and encouraged all parties not to let the spirit of frank dialogue atrophy through disuse. We also note that the draft resolution now before us calls, in paragraph 6, on my Government and the Government of Nicaragua to renew the dialogue that had existed between us.

257. Let there be no doubt that the United States, as a general principle of its foreign policy, seeks the peaceful resolution of disputes through dialogue and negotiations. For that reason, we would very much appreciate the opportunity to demonstrate to the Council the existence of very broad areas of agreement between the position of the United States and that of Nicaragua. To this end, the United States requests a paragraph-by-paragraph vote on the draft resolution before us, so that we may record the substantial areas of agreement which already exist.

258. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the provisions of rule 38 of the provisional rules of procedure, the representative of India has requested that the draft resolution, submitted by Nicaragua and contained in document S/17172, be put to the vote. The representative of the United States has requested that the draft resolution be put to the vote paragraph by paragraph.

259. Since I hear no objection, I shall put the first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution to the vote now. It reads as follows:

"The Security Council, having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The first preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

260. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now vote on the second preambular paragraph, which reads as follows:

"Having also heard the statements of several representatives of States members of the United Nations during the course of the debate,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The second preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

261. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the third preambular paragraph, which reads:

"Recalling resolution 530 (1983), which reaffirms the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The third preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

262. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now take a vote on the fourth preambular paragraph, which reads as follows:

"Recalling also General Assembly resolution 38/10, which reaffirms the inalienable right of all the peoples to decide on their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system free from all foreign intervention, coercion or limitation,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The fourth preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

263. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote on the fifth preambular paragraph, which reads as follows:

"Recalling also General Assembly resolution 39/4, which encourages the efforts of the Contadora Group and appeals urgently to all interested States in and outside the region to co-operate fully with the Group through a frank and constructive dialogue, so as to achieve solutions to the differences between them,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The fifth preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

264. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the sixth preambular paragraph, which reads:

"Recalling General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), in the annex of which the Assembly proclaims the principle that no State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The sixth preambular paragraph was adopted by 14 votes to none, with one abstention.

265. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote on the seventh preambular paragraph, which reads:

"Reaffirming the principle that all Members shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The seventh preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

266. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the eighth preambular paragraph, which reads:

"Seriously concerned about the increased tensions in the Central American region, recently aggravated by the trade embargo and other coercive economic measures decreed against the Government of Nicaragua which endanger the stability of the region and undermine the efforts of the Contadora Group towards a political and negotiated solution,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The result of the vote was 13 in favour, 1 against and 1 abstention.

The eighth preambular paragraph was not adopted, the negative vote being that of a permanent member of the Council.

267. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote on paragraph 1, which reads:

"Regrets the recent trade embargo and other coercive economic measures against Nicaragua which are inconsistent with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and represent a danger to the stability of the region and calls for an immediate end to those measures;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: Egypt, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The result of the vote was 11 in favour, 1 against and 3 abstentions.

Paragraph 1 was not adopted, the negative vote being that of a permanent member of the Council.

268. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote on paragraph 2, which reads:

"Calls on the interested States to refrain from any action or intention to destabilize or undermine other States or their institutions, including the imposition of trade embargoes or restrictions, blockades or other measures incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and in violation

of commitments contracted multilaterally or bilaterally;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The result of the voting was 13 in favour, 1 against and 1 abstention.

Paragraph 2 was not adopted, the negative vote being that of a permanent member of the Council.

269. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 3, which reads:

"Reaffirms the sovereignty and inalienable right of Nicaragua and the rest of the States freely to decide their own political, economic and social systems, to develop their international relations according to their people's interests free from outside interference, subversion, direct or indirect coercion or threats of any kind;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Paragraph 3 was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

270. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now vote on paragraph 4, which reads:

"Reaffirms once again its firm support to the Contadora Group and urges it to intensify its efforts; it also expresses its conviction that only with genuine political support from all interested States will those peace efforts prosper;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

Paragraph 4 was adopted unanimously.

271. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 5, which reads:

"Calls on all States to refrain from carrying out, supporting or promoting political, economic or military actions of any kind against any State in the region which might impede the peace objectives of the Contadora Group;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

Paragraph 5 was adopted unanimously.

272. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 6, which reads:

"Calls on the Governments of the United States of America and Nicaragua to resume the dialogue they had been holding in Manzanillo, Mexico, with a view to reaching accords favourable for normalizing their relations and regional détente;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Paragraph 6 was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

273. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 7, which reads:

"Requests that the Secretary-General keep the Security Council apprised of the development of the situation and the implementation of the present resolution;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

Paragraph 7 was adopted unanimously.

274. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 8, which reads:

"Decides to remain seized of this matter."

A vote was taken by show of hands.

Paragraph 8 was adopted unanimously.

275. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now vote on the draft resolution as a whole, as amended—that is, minus the eighth preambular paragraph and original paragraphs 1 and 2.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted unanimously [resolution 562 (1985)].

276. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Kingdom for an explanation of vote.

277. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I should like to explain why, in the paragraph voting, my delegation abstained on what were originally the sixth preambular paragraph and paragraph 3. The original paragraph 3, of course, became paragraph 1 in the resolution as adopted.

278. That paragraph refers to the inalienable right freely to decide on political, economic and social systems. My delegation is second to none in upholding this right, but we must insist that it is a right which belongs to people, not to States. That is what the Charter of the United Nations says; that is what both international covenants on human rights say; that is what the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations says. And indeed that is what the fourth preambular paragraph of the resolution before us says.

279. The Charter refers in Article 1 to "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". Both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights state, in their first articles, that:

> "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States similarly holds that "all peoples have the right freely to determine, without external interference, their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development." According to that Declaration, all States have the duty to respect this right and "to promote ... realization of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

280. These basic instruments, as well as General Assembly resolution 38/10, on the situation in Central America, which is quoted in the fourth preambular paragraph of the resolution, make it crystal-clear that the right to self-determination is one that belongs to peoples and not to States. It is for States to respect and promote this right, but it is peoples which enjoy it. This is a fundamental distinction. We deplore the distortion of this principle in paragraph 1 of the resolution as adopted.

281. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Nicaragua wishes to speak. I call upon him.

282. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like on behalf of my Government to express our profound satisfaction with the debate we have had in the past three days, in which the overwhelming majority of approximately 30 Members of the United Nations—with the exception of the United States of America and of two countries bordering on Nicaragua which were compelled to inscribe their names on the list at the last minute—spoke out against the recent coercive measures taken by a major Power, the United States, against a small non-aligned, self-respecting country, Nicaragua.

283. Throughout the debate, we have seen how countries with different ideologies—non-aligned, Western and socialist—were clear in pointing out that such actions dangerously increased the already serious tensions in Central America and that, furthermore, they undermine the peace efforts of the Contadora Group in the search for a negotiated political solution to the problems of the region.

284. My delegation also wishes to express its satisfaction over the fact that the Council has just adopted the draft resolution submitted by Nicaragua. We believe that its adoption, despite the exclusion of three paragraphs, can represent—if all the members that voted in favour truly comply with its terms—a meaningful contribution to peace in Central America. I should like to make an appeal to each and every one of the members of the Council, particularly the permanent members and especially the United States, truly and earnestly to comply with the terms of this resolution.

285. Paragraph 3 of the original text of the draft resolution states:

> "Reaffirms the sovereignty and inalienable right of Nicaragua and the rest of the States freely to decide their own political, economic and social systems, to develop their international relations according to their people's interests free from outside interference, subversion, direct or indirect coercion or threats of any kind;".

Let me repeat my appeal to the United States to comply truly with the terms of this paragraph, for which it voted in favour today. If it really wants Nicaragua to be able to develop its own political system, free from outside interference, it should cease its dirty undeclared war inflicted upon us approximately five years ago; it should stop trying to obtain funds to support the destabilization and overthrow of the Government of Nicaragua, as it has been doing publicly, with the use of official and unofficial funds.

286. I appeal also to all members of the Council, without exception, and again especially to the United States, to be truly consistent with the efforts made by the Contadora Group and to lend their sincere support to those efforts, aimed as they are at finding a negotiated political solution to the problems confronting the region.

287. In the course of the debates in the Council we heard two of the members of the Contadora Group, Mexico and Colombia. If I recall correctly, both deplored the coercive economic action taken by the United States, and they mentioned that those actions undermine and do harm to the Contadora peace process. I would like to repeat my request to the United States that it really support Contadora and allow us, the Central Americans, with the help of our Latin American neighbours, to find solutions to the problems confronting our region.

288. Paragraph 5 of the original draft resolution

> "Calls on all States to refrain from carrying out, supporting or promoting political, economic or military actions of any kind against any State in the region which might impede the peace objectives of the Contadora Group;".

I wonder whether the economic blockade, the military blockade, the financial blockade, the military aggression and, in general, the acts of aggression constantly perpetrated by the United States against my Government are not in fact in contradiction with the aforementioned paragraph, of which they have just voted in favour. As I said, we hope that the United States, as is advocated in the seventh preambular paragraph of the resolution, will comply in good faith with its Charter obligations that it will fulfil in good faith the obligations devolving from its favourable vote on a draft resolution.

289. Therefore, my Government truly welcomes the adoption of the draft resolution and hopes that the United States will fully comply with it.

290. I wish now to make two or three points in connection with the vote on the draft resolution.

291. My Government has once again observed that the United States really is given to the use of its veto power as a permanent member of the Security Council. I do not now fully recall the number, but I know that in recent years the United States has vetoed many draft resolutions—on the Middle East, Central America and southern Africa, to mention only a few areas. But what has struck me most is that for the first time there were three vetoes on one draft resolution. I believe that the United States requested separate votes in order to use the right of veto three times—on the last preambular paragraph and the first two operative paragraphs. The practice of using the veto constantly is so much to the liking of the United States that it tries to do so frequently.

292. Furthermore, I was astonished that the United States—which claims that it is seeking a peaceful solution to the problems of the region, states that it respects the purposes and principles of the Charter and says that it firmly supports the efforts of the Contadora Group—abstained on a paragraph that merely asked for the resumption of the dialogue between the United States and Nicaragua. I am particularly astonished since the Contadora Group, in its declaration of 9 January [*S/16889, annex*], when it celebrated its second anniversary, issued the same paragraph. That is, the relevant paragraph of the draft resolution is the same as that of an appeal to the United States in the declaration that the four countries members of the Contadora Group issued then. We cannot explain how the United States can on the one hand support Contadora and on the other disregard the call of the Contadora Group to resume a bilateral dialogue with Nicaragua that may contribute to the alleviation of tension and strengthen the Contadora process.

293. It is our strongest desire and hope—and this has been one of our main objectives in seeking these meetings of the Council—that the United States may hear the outcry of the international community here, as well as in the many statements of heads of State, foreign ministers, parliaments and individuals. These views were also expressed in the communiqué adopted recently by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement [*S/17163, annex*], to which various speakers referred and which Mr. Krishnan of India, the Chairman of the Bureau, read out [*2578th meeting*].

294. I should like the United States to give serious, calm thought to the new situation that it has created and the total isolation to which it is now subjected, and to take logical measures that will truly help solve the problems confronting Central America. We should like it to choose dialogue, negotiation, the political solution, as the only means to achieve peace in Central America. We believe that there is still time to end the spiral of violence affecting Central America. Mature attitudes must prevail over rash actions and passions; otherwise, we shall be dragged irrevocably into a war that will extend to all of Central America, and in a short time we shall see again in our region the United States Marines, recalling past occasions when their presence was customary in my country.

295. We appeal earnestly to the United States in this body, which has been entrusted with watching over international peace and security, really to tackle the task of finding a solution to the problems of Central America, in other words, to end hostile military, political and economic actions that merely contribute to an intensification of tensions in the region. We believe—and we appeal to the United States along these lines—that it is important for it to realize that it must shoulder its responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council and as a military and economic Power in order to contribute to the solution of problems instead of increasing them or putting pressure on non-aligned countries such as Nicaragua.

296. We hope that United States leaders will really heed the many and unanimous statements made here. We hope their minds are still capable of reflection and that they will understand the reason for their present international isolation and their rejection by their own

people because of the rash criminal policies they have undertaken against my Government and my country.

297. Several speakers appealed to Nicaragua and the United States to resume the bilateral talks. Indeed, I believe this was a common denominator in the debate. I repeat that Nicaragua has no difficulty whatsoever with this; on the contrary, it is seeking the resumption of the dialogue in the near future. We feel that civilized, peace-loving nations should set aside brute force and settle their differences by means of talks and dialogue. In this connection, we believe that it would be appropriate for the United States to adopt an attitude similar to that of my Government and heed the appeal made by members of the Security Council and other Members of the Organization. Regrettably, the unfortunate United States abstention in the voting on the relevant paragraph has cast a pall on the possibility of resuming that dialogue.

298. I reiterate here my Government's commitment to peace, my Government's commitment to the search for political solutions to the problems confronting the Central American region, my Government's commitment to striving to overcome the differences which may exist between us and our Central American neighbours, my Government's commitment not to be the first to use its armed forces against any other Central American country, my Government's commitment fully to support the initiatives of the Contadora Group and to support, as it has done in the past, all necessary efforts, to live up to mutually agreed obligations and to respect and support the verification and control mechanisms which may be decided upon in the security and military spheres.

299. I wish in conclusion to thank members of the Council and the Members of the United Nations in general for the unstinting support they have given my Government in the serious situation we face as a result of the rashness and continuing aggression of the United States Government. That support commits and obliges us further to defend our sovereignty, territorial integrity and right of self-determination. I should like to say to all members of the international community that participated in this debate that brute force will not bring the noble people of Nicaragua to its knees, that military means will not subordinate the heroic people of Nicaragua and that base manoeuvres like those we witnessed today will not halt the realization of our commitment to peace.

300. We have our revolutionary beliefs, the support of our people, the understanding of the international community and the support of peace-loving peoples and Governments throughout the world. These will help us to protect ourselves from any aggression which the great Power to the north may continue to launch against us, whether economic, political or military. The United States ought to learn from history, think about history, and let that thinking form the basis of its future actions.

301. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.

NOTE

[1] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, vol. II, 48th meeting, para. 63.

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